

**HISTORICAL  
DICTIONARY  
OF MALI**

*third edition*

**PASCAL JAMES IMPERATO**

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# Historical Dictionary of Mali

third edition

by  
Pascal James Imperato

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*This book is dedicated with affection to  
Helena Segy  
and to the memory of  
Ladislav Segy  
whose enthusiasm for the wonders of Mali  
has given me much inspiration*

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## Editor's Foreword

There has been a lot of change in Mali since the last edition of this book. The wave of political democratization finally reached the country and brought about the collapse of the old regime. Economic liberalization, begun tentatively before, swept aside even more of the remaining socialistic paraphernalia. This was clearly to the good. But it was not enough to overcome the old economic, social and political problems, to which was added a worrisome separatist movement. After many earlier disappointed hopes and false dawns, it is hard to be overly optimistic.

Still, Mali has survived difficulties that would faze any country and it has held together. And, whatever the outcome, it remains too important to be entirely overlooked. Although thinly populated, it is one of the largest countries on the continent. Because it lies at crucial crossroads, bordered by no fewer than seven other states, it has a considerable impact on what happens in the region. If its political situation stabilizes, and its economy progresses, that is positive news not only for Malians but millions of other Africans. This much is clearly realized by African leaders and others abroad, in France and the United States, in the United Nations and European Community, who are trying to help.

This means that we should pay closer attention to what happens in Mali, not only when things are going poorly but also when they improve. But finding out about Mali is not easy. Little enough is written in the press, and much of that only appears in French. Serious studies are rare. Thus, this third edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Mali* is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the country. And this volume is all the more welcome since the author has not only

brought the story up to date but filled in further details about earlier periods. The bibliography, extensively updated and expanded, is particularly useful.

This third edition was also written by Pascal James Imperato. Dr. Imperato first lived and worked in Mali nearly three decades ago, from 1966 to 1972. He has returned many times since then and follows events closely. All this while, he has written articles and books on various aspects of the country, including *Dogon Cliff Dwellers, Buffoons, Queens*

*and Wooden Horsemen, and Mali: A Handbook of Historical Statistics.* This has made him a leading authority on Mali and one of very few persons who could write such a book.

JON WORONOFF  
SERIES EDITOR

## Preface and Acknowledgments

I first began my studies of Mali in 1966 while preparing to go there as a medical epidemiologist for the Centers for Disease Control of the United States Public Health Service. From 1966 to 1971, I directed a smallpox eradication and measles control program carried out by 24 mobile teams that visited every district in the country and which reached close to 85% of the population. During these five years, I traveled throughout the country, covering 50,000 miles by truck alone. I also traveled by canoe, on horses and camels, on foot and by air, and was able to see first-hand the great geographic and cultural diversity of this remarkable country. Malians in every area extended their hospitality to me and taught me much about the country's history and customs. It has been my good fortune to return to Mali from time to time, and to be in regular contact with both Malians and non-Malians familiar with current events in the country. Several of my students have conducted fieldwork in Mali under the supervision of Malian colleagues. Some of the latter have also come on visits to the United States.

A comprehensive volume of this type covers a large number of topics. An attempt has been made to give sufficient coverage to satisfy a broad range of readers. The bibliography provides additional resources where both specialists and general readers can find more information. The contents of the dictionary and bibliography portions of this edition have to some extent been shaped by the suggestions of scholars and general readers who used the previous two editions. I would like to thank them for their help.

A number of Malians, Americans, and nationals of other countries have helped me over the years to enlarge my knowledge of Mali and

to keep abreast of current events there. Robert Baker of the United States Information Agency has regularly supplied me with current information on Mali. Robert M. Pringle, the former U.S. ambassador to Mali, kindly sent me much important information, and arranged for me to meet former President Moussa Traoré and several Malian government ministers in Washington, D.C., in October 1988. Herbert Donald Gelber, the U.S. ambassador to Mali, has been gracious in his assistance and in providing me with difficult-to-find data. I am grateful to Ella Abney, librarian at

the Albion O. Bernstein Library of the Medical Society of the State of New York, for her help.

I want to express my sincere thanks to Eudelle Marshall and to Lois Hahn, whose Save the Children Federation daughter, Saran Koné, lives in Kolondieba, Mali, for their careful preparation of several versions of the typescript. Jon Woronoff, the series editor, has made very useful suggestions about all three editions of this book, for which I am very grateful. I want to thank the staff at Scarecrow Press for their valuable assistance in preparing this edition for publication. Thanks are extended to the Longman Group Ltd. for permission to reproduce the three historical maps of Mali from *History of West Africa*, Volume 1, edited by J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (London, 1971 and 1976), and to the U.S. Department of State for permission to reproduce the general map of Mali. I want to thank my wife, Eleanor, and my children, Alison, Gavin, and Austin, for their support and understanding.

PASCAL JAMES IMPERATO

## On "Sudan" and "Timbuctoo"

The words *Sudan* and *Soudan* are essentially synonymous, the former being the English spelling and the latter the French. The word comes from the Arabic phrase *bilad es Sudan* (land of the black people). The name *Sudan* is used in a geographic sense to describe that part of Africa immediately south of the Sahara. The western Sudan is a name applied to the area just south of the Sahara in West Africa, including Senegal, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Burkina Faso, and parts of northern Nigeria.

In a political sense the name *Sudan* was adopted by both the French and the British. The British used the name *the Sudan* to refer to the vast territory around the Nile stretching from southern Egypt into equatorial Africa. Eventually this territory became a British-Egyptian condominium, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In 1956 the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan became independent and adopted the name the Republic of the Sudan. The French applied the name *Soudan Français* (French Sudan or French Soudan) to what is now Mali. From September 10, 1959, to September 21, 1960, what is now Mali was called the Sudanese Republic.

The spelling "Timbuctoo," which is employed in this dictionary, is the one which has been used in major English language works about the city. This orthography closely approximates local pronunciation of the name and is considered by scholars to be the correct English-language one. The German spelling, "Timbuktu," and its variant, "Timbucktu," have found their way into English. The spelling "Timbuktu" has been widely used in English in recent years, especially in popular and journalistic stories about the city.



The French have used the spelling "Tombouctou" for over a century. This spelling often appears on maps of the area, since Timbuctoo is situated in a French-speaking country. René Caillié, the first European to visit the city and return alive to describe it, used the spelling "Tembouctou." This never won wide acceptance.

## Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACM	Ateliers et Chantiers du Mali
ADEMA	Alliance Pour la Démocratie au Mali
AEEM	Association des Elèves et Etudiants du Mali
AMPA	Agence Malienne de Presse et Promotion
ANIM	Agence Nationale d'Information du Mali
AOF	Afrique Occidentale Française
AP	Action Progressiste
API	Action Progressiste Indépendante
ARLA	Armée Révolutionnaire de Liberation de l'Aza- ouad
ARP	Amis du Rassemblement Populaire du Soudan Français
BCEAO	Banque Centrale des Etats d'Afrique de l'Ouest (Central Bank of West African States)
BEC	Bureau Executif Central (of the UDPM)
BPN	Bureau Politique National
BRM	Banque de la République du Mali
CCAOD	Comité de Coordination des Associations et Or- ganizations Démocratiques
CCSE	Commission des Comités Syndicaux des En- seignants
CEAO	Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (Economic Community of West Africa)
CEDEAO	Communauté Economique des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (Economic Community of West African States; ECOWAS)
CEFA	Comité d'Etudes Franco-Africaines
CFA	Communauté Financière Africaine

CFAO	Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale
CFDT	Compagnie Française pour le Développement des Fibres Textiles
CILSS	Comité Interetats pour la Lutte Contre la Secher- esse Sahelienne (Interstate Committee to Com- bat the Sahelian Drought)
CMLN	Comité Militaire de Liberation Nationale

CNDR	Comité National de Defense de la Révolution
CNID	Comité National d'Initiative Démocratique (later Congrès)
CRN	Conseil de Réconciliation Nationale
CTSP	Comité de Transition Pour le Salut du Peuple
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDM	Energie du Mali
EEC	European Economic Community
FAC	Fonds de l'Aide et de Coopération
FED	Fonds Européens de Développement
FIAA	Front Islamique Arabe de l'Azaouad
FIDES	Fonds d'Investissement pour de Developpement Economique et Social (Investment Fund for Eco- nomic and Social Development, see FAC)
FLA	Front Pour la Libération de l'Azaouad
FPLA	Front Populaire de Libération de L'Azaouad
FSD	Front Sauvegarde de la Démocratie
FUDA	Front Unifié Pour la Defense de l'Azaouad
GOM	Government of Mali
IFAN	Institut Français (Fondemental) d'Afrique Noire
IOTA	Institut d'Ophthalmologie Tropicale de l'Afrique
MFUA	Mouvements et Fronts Unifiés de l'Azaouad
MPA	Mouvement Populaire de l'Azaouad
MSDIS	Mouvement Socialiste pour la Défense des In- terets du Soudan
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OCCGE	Organisation de Coordination et de Coopération pour la Lutte contre les Grandes Endemies
OERS	Organisation des Etats Riverains du Sénégal (Or- ganization of Senegal River States)
OMVS	Organisation pour la Mise-en-Valeur du Fleuve

	Sénégal
OPAM	Office des Produits Agricoles du Mali
PDS	Parti Démocratique Soudanais
PMI	Protection Maternel et Infantile
PPS	Parti Progressiste Soudanais
PRS	Parti du Regroupement Soudanais
RDA	Rassemblement Démocratique Africain
SCINFOMA	Service Cinématographique du Ministère de l'Information du Mali
SCOA	Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain (Com- mercial Corporation of West Africa)
SEMA	Société d'Equipement du Mali
SHM	Société des Hôtelleries du Mali

SMERT	Société Malienne d'Exploitation des Ressources Touristiques
SNEC	Société Nationale de l'Education et de la Culture
SOCORAM	Société de Constructions Radioelectriques du Mali
SOMALIBO	Société Malienne des Boissons Gazeuses
SOMBEPEC	Société Malienne du Betail et des Peaux et Cuir
SOMIEX	Société Malienne d'Importation et d'Exportation
SONATAM	Société Nationale des Tabacs et Allumettes du Mali
SONEA	Société Nationale d'Exploitation des Abattoirs
UDAO	Union Douanière des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
UDPM	Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien
UMOA	Union Monétaire de l'Ouest Africain (West African Monetary Union)
UNEEM	Union Nationale des Etudiants et Elèves du Mali
UNFM	Union Nationale des Femmes Maliennes
UNICOOP	Union des Cooperatives
UNJM	Union Nationale des Jeunes du Mali
UNTM	Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Mali
US-RDA	Union Soudanaise-Rassemblement Démocra- tique Africain

## Chronology of Mali History

5000 B.C.

Asselar man (neolithic) living in the Sahara of northern Mali.

Neolithic settlements in Nioro, Gao, Bamako, and Bougouni.

300 B.C.

Djenné-Jeno a thriving commercial town.

c. A.D. 600

Beginnings of the Ghana empire (Wagadu).

c. 600

The Songhay establish markets at Koukaya and Gao on the Niger River.

c. 690

Town of Gao begins to develop.

c. 950

Ibn Haukal, an Arab geographer, describes Ghana and its capital, Koumbi.

c. 990

Aouadaghost, a Saharan entrepôt, annexed by the Ghana empire.

c. 1000

Ghana empire reaches its apogee.

c. 1076

Beginning of decline of Ghana empire.

c. 1087

Ghana breaks up into three constituent states, Diarra, Sosso, and

Galam.

c. 1100

Timbuctoo begins as a seasonal nomad camp.

c. 1200

Soumangourou becomes king of Sosso.

c. 1230

Soundiata Keita becomes king of Mali.

c. 1235

Soundiata Keita defeats Soumangourou of Sosso at Kirina.

c. 1240

Soundiata Keita conquers and destroys the Ghana empire and establishes the Mali empire.

c. 1300

Djenné-Jeno goes into decline. Modern Djenné develops.

1307

Kankan Moussa (Mansa Moussa) becomes emperor of Mali. Under him the Mali empire expands westward to the Atlantic and eastward to the Adrar des Iforas.

1324

Kankan Moussa starts off on his pilgrimage to Mecca via the Sahara and Cairo, carrying large quantities of gold.

1325

Kankan Moussa returns from Mecca. He stops at Gao to receive the submission of the Songhay



king, Za Assiboi. The Mali empire reaches its apogee.

1337

Kankan Moussa dies.

c. 1350

Ibn Batuta, a north African geographer and scholar, visits the Mali empire.

1400

Decline of Mali empire. Maga Diallo establishes a Peul kingdom in the inland delta of the Niger.

1465

Sonni Ali Ber becomes emperor of the Songhay empire. Under him the empire grows in size and strength.

1510

Leo Africanus visits the Western Sudan. He sees Timbuctoo and Gao.

1529

Askia Mohammed deposed by his relatives.

1549-83

Reign of Askia Daoud of the Songhay empire. Under him the empire reaches its apogee.

1591

Moroccan invasion of the Songhay empire. The Songhay are defeated at Tondibi. Fall of the empire and beginning of the Moroccan occupation of the Western Sudan. A long period of anarchy and decline ensues.

1660

The Ruma descendants of the Moroccan invaders and their Sudanese

wives renounce allegiance to Morocco. They rule from Timbuctoo.

1706-61

Guidado reigns as king of the Peul kingdom of Macina.

1712-55

Reign of Biton Coulibaly, founder of the Bambara kingdom of Ségou.

1754-58

Sey Bamana becomes king of the Kaarta kingdom, founded by Massassi Bambara a century before.

c. 1760-1811

Mohammed el Kunti, a Kunta religious leader, unites the Berbers of the Middle Niger.

1766-90

N'Golo Diarra reigns as king of Ségou kingdom. Under him the kingdom reaches its apogee.

1795-97

Mungo Park, Scottish explorer, visits Kaarta and Ségou and explores much of what is now western Mali.

1805-06

Mungo Park sets out across West Africa, hoping to navigate the Niger for its full length. He builds a large boat at Sansanding, near Ségou, and sails down the Niger. Eventually he is drowned during an ambush in the Bussa Rapids in Nigeria.

1810-44

Reign of Cheikou Amadou, first leader of the

Peul empire of Macina. He overthrew the reigning Diallo dynasty and set up a theocratic state.

Apr. 20, 1828

Réné Caillié enters the city of Timbuctoo after a year of travel from the coast. He becomes the first European known to visit the city and return alive.

Sept. 7, 1853

Heinrich Barth, German explorer, arrives in Timbuctoo where he remains until March 1, 1854.

1854

El Hadj Omar, the Tukulor imam warrior, conquers the Kaarta kingdom.

1857

El Hadj Omar attacks Médine, a fortified village established in 1855 on the Senegal River by the French. Paul Holle defends Médine for three months. General Faidherbe marches from Saint Louis with a small army and rescues Médine.

Mar. 10, 1861

El Hadj Omar captures the city of Ségou and by 1862 achieves conquest of the Bambara kingdom of Ségou.

1862

El Hadj Omar captures Hamdallaye, capital of the Peul empire of Macina.

Nov. 25, 1863

Faidherbe, governor of Senegal, sends Lt. Mage and Dr. Quintin to Ségou to negotiate commercial agreements with El Hadj Omar. They arrive in Ségou on Feb. 22, 1864, and learn that El Hadj Omar is dead

and instead meet Amadou Tall, his son and successor. Mage obtains a commercial treaty from Amadou.

1864-92

Amadou Tall, son of El Hadj Omar, reigns as head of the Tukulor empire.

1864

El Hadj Omar dies on the Bandiagara Plateau while battling the Peul forces.

Apr. 10, 1873

Brière de L'Isle, governor of Senegal, sends Paul Soleillet to Ségou to renew relations with Amadou. He arrives on October 1, 1873.

1876-93

Reign of Tieba Traoré of Sikasso. He repulses Samory's attacks on the KénéDougou kingdom.

Mar. 20, 1880

Brière de L'Isle sends Capt. Gallieni to Ségou to negotiate a friendship and commercial treaty.

Mar. 29, 1880

Gallieni arrives in Bafoulabé where he obtains a treaty with the local chiefs and establishes a protectorate.

Apr. 20, 1880

Gallieni arrives at Kita where he signs a treaty with Tokoutan Keita, the town's leader. He proceeds on

the Ségou but is attacked by the Bambara of Bélédougou at Dio on May 11, 1880. He survives the attack and arrives in Bamako the same day where he is not well received. He continues on to Ségou, but is ordered by Amadou to stop at Nango, where he is made to wait for 10 months.

Sept. 6, 1880

Decree constituting the region of the Upper Senegal a distinct territory under a military officer with the title of *Commandant-supérieur du Haut Fleuve*, subordinate to the governor of Senegal, but enjoying a considerable measure of administrative freedom. The territory divided from Senegal proper by the river Falémé, but with eastern limits. Médine the headquarters.

1881

Transfer by Col. Borgnis-Desbordes, first commandant, of his headquarters to Kayes.

Mar. 20, 1881

Amadou, although rightly suspecting the motives of the French, releases Gallieni. A treaty is signed, but has no lasting value.

1883

Samory attacks the French near Bamako but is driven off.

Feb. 1, 1883

Borgnis-Desbordes enters Bamako and establishes French control.

1887

The French and Samory sign the Treaty of Bissandougou, in which the territories on the right bank of the Niger are left to Samory.

Sept. 3, 1887

Binger leaves Bamako for Kong, Sikasso, and Samory's territories to

negotiate commercial treaties.

Apr. 6, 1890

Col. Louis Archinard takes Ségou with an army of 3,600 men.

June 1890-Jan. 1891

Archinard defeats the Tukulor forces in Kaarta.

Aug. 18, 1890

Decree changing the title of the territory to *Soudan Français*, and of the officer administering it to *Commandant-supérieur du Soudan Français*. The administration of French Sudan to be under the general direction of the governor of Senegal, without whose concurrence the commandant was to take no political action, but he to give his own instructions to all personnel, both civil and military. French Sudan to have its own budget drawn up by the commandant.

Aug. 27, 1892

Decree giving French Sudan complete autonomy, directly under the home government. The commandant, however, to address copies of his reports on political matters to the governor of Senegal, and to keep him posted on the general political situation. The commandant no longer to be in direct command of the troops, but to devote himself to administration.

Apr. 29, 1893

Archinard arrives at Bandiagara. Amadou, now defeated, flees to northern Nigeria. The Ségou Tukulor empire collapses.

Nov. 21, 1893

Decree substituting civil administration for military. M. Grodet (a civilian) appointed governor of French Sudan.

Jan. 12, 1894

Joffre takes Timbuctoo after Col. Bonnier's defeat and death while fighting the Tuareg.

June 16, 1895

Decree constituting the federal government of French West Africa, under the governor of Senegal as ex officio governor-general. French Sudan to be administered by a lieutenant governor and to lose the province of Bakel and part of the Bambouk to Senegal, and Faranah to French Guinea.

Jan. 22, 1896

Hourst sails down the Niger from Kabara, the port of Timbuctoo, exploring the Niger Bend and signing treaties with local chiefs. He is accompanied by Mgr. Hacquard.

May 1, 1898

Lt. Col. Audeod leads an army against Babemba, king of

Kéné Dougou, and captures its capital, Sikasso.

Oct. 17, 1899

Decree breaking up French Sudan: Dinkiray, Siguiri, Kouroussa, Kankan, Kissidougou, and Beyla incorporated into French Guinea; Koala and Say (retransferred in 1900) into Dahomey; Odienné, Kong, and Bouna into the Ivory Coast. The remainder divided into: (a) two (from December 20, 1900, three) military territories with headquarters at Timbuctoo, Bobo-Dioulasso, and Zinder, respectively; the officers commanding these to be directly responsible to the governor-general for military matters, but for civil matters to correspond with him through his civil delegates; and (b) the territories of the "Upper Senegal and Middle Niger" to become a dependency of Senegal administered by a civil delegate of the



governor residing at Kayes. A single budget to be drawn up by the governor for this territory and the three military territories.

Oct. 1, 1902

Decree causing the governor of Senegal to cease to be ipso facto governor-general. Upper Senegal and Middle Niger to become the Territories of Senegambia and the Niger, under a permanent delegate resident at Kayes and responsible to the governor-general.

Senegambia and the Niger to have its own budget drawn up by the governor-general. The officers commanding the first and second military territories to address their correspondence on civil matters to the permanent delegate, but the officer commanding the third military territory to address the governor-general directly.

Oct. 18, 1904

Decree creating Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF), a federation of French West African territories. French Sudan to become the colony of Upper Senegal and Niger with its own lieutenant governor, and of exactly the same status as the other colonies of the Federation. The colony to comprise all three military districts, but the third military district to have its own budget annexed to that of the colony. The capital to be transferred to Bamako. Railroad extended from Bamako to Koulikoro.

Dec. 31, 1906

A chamber of commerce is established in Bamako.

May 23, 1908

The capital of Haut-Sénégal Niger, is transferred from Kayes to Bamako.

1911

The military territory of the Niger detached from the colony and

placed directly under the governor-general. The other two military districts to cease to exist and to be incorporated for all purposes in the colony.

Feb. 25, 1915

Revolt of Bambara in Bélé Dougou led by Koumi Diossé put down by the French. Revolt was incited by conscription of large numbers of Africans into the French Army for combat in World War I.

1916

Bobo in *cercle* of San revolt against forced labor and conscription into the army.

1918

The Ecole de Médecine is opened in Dakar for the training of African physicians.

Mar. 1, 1919

Decree creating the Upper Volta colony and detaching from Upper Senegal and Niger the provinces of Ouahigouya, Ouagadougou, Fada, Say, Gaoua, Bobo-Dioulasso, and Dedougou.

Dec. 4, 1920

Decree restoring to the colony the name of French Sudan (Soudan Français).

Jan. 4, 1922

The Citroën trans-Sahara expedition arrives in Bourem.

1923-24

Violent incidents in Nioro allegedly instigated by followers of Shaykh Hamallah, head of a separatist Tijani brotherhood.

1925

Shaykh Hamallah deported to Mederdra in Mauritania.

Jan. 5, 1932

The Office du Niger is created.

Sept. 5, 1932

Decree abolishing the colony of the Upper Volta and restoring to French Sudan the provinces of Ouahigouya, part of Dori, and part of Dedougou.

1934

The Institut de la Lèpre, later known as the Institut Marchoux, is opened in Bamako for the study, treatment, and control of leprosy.

1939

An autonomous interterritorial anti-sleeping sickness service is established for French West Africa with headquarters at Bobo-Dioulasso in Upper Volta. Later the service became known as the

Service d'Hygiene Mobile et de Prophylaxie and became a polyvalent mobile preventive medical service.

Some 7,000 African soldiers sent to France for combat from French West Africa. Governor-General Boisson allies French West Africa with the Vichy government.

1940

The Institut Français d'Afrique Noire (IFAN) is established in Dakar for all of French West Africa.

1940

Violent confrontations between the followers of Shaykh Hamallah and Maures in Nioro result in close to 400 deaths. Hamallah deported to Algeria and then to France.

July 1, 1943

Boisson is replaced as governor-general of AOF after the allied landing in North Africa.

Jan. 30, 1944

Brazzaville Conference opens. Called by the Free French, it prepared the way for the political development of France's African territories. The conference made several recommendations,

some of which were incorporated into the Constitution of the Fourth French Republic. They called for a continuation of French assimilationist policies and the creation of a federal structure between France and its African colonies. They called for the abolition of forced labor.

1946

The Union Soudanaise and the Parti Progressiste Soudanais formed in Bamako.

Oct. 18, 1946

The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain formed in Bamako. The Union Soudanaise becomes its local branch.

1947

Colony of Upper Volta re-created. Dori, Ouahigouya and Dedougou detached from the French Sudan.

1956

The Union Soudanaise wins in elections for the French National Assembly, overturning the nine years of dominance by the Parti Progressiste Soudanais. Mamadou Konaté, leader of the Union Soudanaise, dies and is succeeded by Modibo Keita. The *Loi Cadre* is passed.

May 17-18, 1957

Wahabi Moslems attacked in Bamako and their property destroyed.

Sept. 28, 1958

Referendum held in French West Africa on future status of territories. The new Constitution of the Fifth French Republic approved in all territories except Guinea.

Oct. 1958

The French Sudan becomes the République Soudanaise within the French community.

Jan. 10, 1959

Mali federation established with Senegal and the Sudanese Republic as members. Modibo Keita is elected president of the federation's government on Jan. 17, 1959.

Mar. 1959

Fily Dabo Sissoko and his Parti Progressiste Soudanais join the Union Soudanaise.

Aug. 20, 1960

Breakup of the Mali Federation.

Sept. 22, 1960

Republic of Mali proclaimed in Bamako.

Jan. 20, 1961

Modibo Keita unanimously re-elected head of the government.

Feb. 1961

Mali signs commercial agreements with China.

Mar. 1961

Mali obtains Soviet loan of 40 million rubles.

June 1961

Mali receives \$10 million in aid from Czechoslovakia.

Oct. 1961

First Five-Year Development Plan begins.

1962-64

The Tuareg of the Adrar des Iforas in northeastern Mali revolt against the Malian government.

Mar. 1962

Five agreements signed between Mali and France governing cultural, technical, and economic matters.

Apr. 1962

Mauritania accuses Mali of harboring terrorists prepared to operate in Mauritania.

July 1, 1962

The new Mali franc is issued.

July 20, 1962

A demonstration takes place in Bamako protesting the issuance of the new Mali franc. Fily Dabo Sissoko arrested and charged with treason. Demonstration composed of merchants protesting the nonconvertible nature of the new franc. Sissoko and others accused of instigating the demonstration.

Aug. 9, 1962

The National Assembly adopts the national anthem.

Sept. 10-12, 1962

Sixth Congress of the Union Soudanaise-RDA outlines Mali's socialist option.

Oct. 1, 1962

A "popular tribunal" hands down verdicts against the demonstrators of July 20, 1962. Of the 95 arrested, 15 are acquitted, 77 condemned to from one to 20 years of hard labor, and Fily Dabo Sissoko, Hamadoun Dicko, and Kassoum Touré sentenced to life in prison.

Oct. 9, 1962

The Ecole Inter-Armes at Kati opened.

Jan. 15, 1963

A national conference of Mali's cadres decides to normalize relations with Senegal; this is formally done in June 1963 with the signing of five separate treaties.

Oct. 29-31, 1963

Modibo Keita and Haile Selassie of Ethiopia mediate a cease-fire between Morocco and Algeria which is signed by both parties in Bamako.

1964

Fily Dabo Sissoko, Hamadoun Dicko, and Kassoum Touré are killed in Kidal, allegedly during an ambush by Tuareg rebels.

Jan. 14, 1964

Radio Mali's new antennas put into operation.

Apr. 12, 1964

First legislative elections since independence held.

Jan. 15, 1965

Mali and the Soviet Union sign an agreement concerning the building of a cement factory at Diamou.

Mar. 25, 1965

The National Assembly votes into law regulations governing commerce in Mali.



Nov. 3, 1965

The "Djoliba" cigarette factory begins production.

Mar. 1, 1966

The Comité National de Defense de la Revolution established.

June 1966

Official visit to Mali by President Heinrich Lubke of West Germany and by Otto Winzer, foreign minister of East Germany.

June 5, 1966

Municipal elections held in 13 cities and towns.

Sept. 1966

Official visit to Mali by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia.

Feb. 1, 1967

The "Eclair" match factory begins production.

Feb. 15, 1967

Monetary accords signed with France.

May 5, 1967

Radio Mali announces that the Mali franc is to be devalued 50% on May 7 as part of the Malian-French monetary accords.

Aug. 22, 1967

Modibo Keita launches a cultural revolution aimed at ideological purification of the party. The Popular Militia is reactivated and given extensive powers which it rapidly abuses, alienating vast segments of the population. The Bureau Politique National is dissolved, and full powers over the party and the government assigned to the Comité National de Defense de la Revolution.

Nov. 1967

Opération Taxi conducted in Bamako.

1968

The Popular Militia becomes increasingly visible in Bamako and throughout the country.

Jan. 18, 1968

National Assembly dissolves itself.

Apr. 10, 1968

Mali and the U.K. restore diplomatic relations, broken off in 1965 over the U.K.'s policy toward Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence.

Nov. 19, 1968

Modibo Keita overthrown by a military coup d'etat. The Comité Militaire de Liberation Nationale formed with Lt. Moussa Traoré as its president.

Nov. 22, 1968

Provisional government formed with Capt. Yoro Diakité as president.

Dec. 6, 1968

A fundamental law replaces the Constitution of 1960, which is abrogated.

Jan.-Apr. 1969

Severe epidemic of meningitis occurs in Bamako, with 5000 cases and 600 deaths.

Apr. 1969

Student strike in Bamako in support of Keita regime.

June 1-3, 1969

Mali and Mauritania hold discussions in Bamako delineating their common boundary.

July 1969

Student strike in Bamako.

July 25-31, 1969

Conference Nationale des Cadres held in Bamako.

Aug. 11, 1969

Mali franc devalued by 12.50%.

Aug. 12, 1969

Captain Diby Silas Diarra arrested for planning a coup d'etat.

Sept. 1969

Jean Marie Koné, a long-time member of the Keita government, removed as foreign minister by the military government.

Sept. 19, 1969

Lt. Moussa Traoré becomes president of the government, replacing Capt. Yoro Diakité.

Oct. 1969

CMLN dissolves the Union Nationale des Travailleurs Maliens (UNTM). Trade union leaders arrested.

Dec. 1969

State security court judges and condemns Captain Diby Silas Diarra, Captain Alassane Diarra, and Sergeant Boubacar Traoré to life in prison at hard labor for planning a coup on August 14, 1969.

Sept. 1970

Seven intellectuals given 18 months in jail for offending the chief of

state.

Sept. 17, 1970

Serious railroad accident on the Bamako-Kayes line at Badougou results in about 100 deaths.

Oct. 1970

The CMLN comes into conflict with the UNTM on the occasion of the second UNTM congress.

Dec. 19, 1970

Beginning of a serious cholera epidemic at Mopti, which eventually spreads throughout the country infecting some 10,000 people by the end of 1971 and resulting in 5000 deaths.

Mar. 1971

Thirty trade unionists released from prison after two months' detention. The CMLN dissolves the provisional consultative committee of the UNTM, rejects its statutes, and refuses to recognize the bureau appointed by the UNTM congress.

Apr. 8, 1971

President Traoré announces that a plot against the government has been discovered, led by Capt. Yoro Diakité and Capt. Malik Diallo, both members of the CMLN. Both are expelled from the army and arrested.

1972-74

A severe drought affects the Sahel of northern Mali, especially the Gao region. By 1974, 80,000

refugees are housed in 33 camps in the Gao region. The acute phase of the drought ends in 1974.

Mar. 1972

General S. Sokolov, Soviet minister of defense, visits Mali.

Apr. 28, 1972

President Traoré pays official visit to France.

July 31, 1972

Capt. Yoro Diakité and Capt. Malik Diallo are sentenced to life in prison at hard labor by the State Security Court. Diakité's death is confirmed a year later in 1973. He is said to have died at the Taoudeni salt mines.

Jan. 1973

Along with many other African states, Mali breaks diplomatic relations with Israel.

May 1973

Cabinet reshuffled with an increase of portfolios from 12 to 14 and of civilians from six to nine.

July 1973

Government announces that Yoro Diakité died in prison of a heart attack. Many suspect he died from exposure to the harsh conditions of the Taoudeni salt mines. Moussa Traoré publicly announces his sadness on learning the news.

1974

Massive drought relief effort undertaken in Mali, especially in the Gao region. U.S.A.I.D. provides a daily airlift of food to the Gao region. Several bilateral and multilateral aid programs furnish grains, other foodstuffs, and medicines for drought victims.

May 1974

Eleven individuals arrested for distributing an antigovernment tract, "La Farce Electorale du 2 Juin, 1974."

June-Oct. 1974

Heavy rains result in a substantial increase in grain food harvests. The acute drought ends, but Mali is seriously affected by its consequences.

June 2, 1974

A referendum is held on a new constitution which is approved by an overwhelming majority.

Aug. 12, 1974

Crash of Air Mali Ilyushian-18 near Ouagadougou in Upper Volta, killing 47 people.

Nov. 1974

Officials in both Mali and Upper Volta simultaneously accuse one another of border violations.

Nov.-Dec. 1974

Several armed clashes occur between the Malian and Voltaic armies on the border in the cercle of Douentza in the area of the arrondissement of Mondoro.

1975

Several medium and long-term development programs begun with multilateral and bilateral assistance.

Jan. 1975

Maliens attacked in Bobo-Dioulasso, Upper Volta, by mobs in the belief that Voltaics are being killed in Bamako.

June 1975

Meeting of Presidents Senghor of Senegal, Kountche of Niger, Eyadema of Togo, Prime Minister Beavogui of Guinea, and Secretary-General Eteki of the OAU in Lome to request a peaceful settlement of the Mali-Upper Volta border dispute.

June 2, 1975

Fifteen of ex-President Modibo Keita's closest political allies freed from prison. Among them are Mahamane Alassane Haidara and Seydou Badian Kouyaté.

Oct. 1975-Feb. 1976

Mali-U.S. relations strained over Mali's support of rival factions in Angola and cosponsorship of U.N. resolution condemning the U.S.'s relationship with Puerto Rico. Anti-American demonstration occurs in Bamako.

Nov. 1975

Six political prisoners of the Keita regime released. Among them are Ousmane Ba and former army chief of staff Sekou Traoré.

Jan. 1976

Members of the Military Committee of National Liberation given promotions within the army.

Sept. 22, 1976

President Traoré announces the formation of a political party in the near future.

Feb. 11-13, 1977

Official visit of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France to Mali.

May 16, 1977

Death of former President Mobido Keita announced. His family pays for radio announcement of his death, describing him as "a retired school teacher."

May 18, 1977

Former President Mobido Keita is buried in Bamako. Street demonstrations occur in the capital in support of Keita and his regime, mostly organized by teachers and students. Funeral provides an opportunity for the expression of antimilitary-rule sentiment.

May-June 1977

Several hundred people arrested in connection with demonstrations surrounding ex-President Keita's burial. Among them were several former members of the Keita government.

June 6, 1977

President Traoré, in an attempt to still rumors about the death of ex-President Keita, announces that Keita died of a lung infection in a Bamako hospital.



June 10, 1977

The State Security Court condemns to death seven junior officers and enlisted men, as well as five nomads, of having attempted a coup in 1976. The latter had been held in detention since 1964 for their role in the Tuareg rebellion in Kidal.

July-Aug. 1977

Most detainees arrested in May and June 1977 released.

Nov. 19, 1977

Thirty-three detainees arrested in May-June 1977 released in an amnesty to mark the coup of November 19, 1968, that brought the CMLN to power. Among them are Attaher Maiga, a former member of the Keita government, and Demba Diallo, a leading lawyer, both prominent in the Keita regime.

Jan. 1978

President Traoré announces the release of all political detainees, including Mariam Keita, the widow of former President Mobido Keita, and 11 former members of the Keita government who had been detained since 1968.

Feb. 28, 1978

Radio Mali announces the arrest of three important members of the CMLN: Lt. Col. Kissima Doukara, minister of defense; Lt. Col. Karim Dembélé, minister of transport and public works; and Lt. Col. Tiekoro Bagayoko, director of security.

Mar. 1978

Col. Charles Samba Sissoko, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, arrested for his role in attempted February coup.

May 1978

Victor Grigoriev, vice-minister of defense of the Soviet Union, visits

Mali.

May 1, 1978

Amnesty declared for those detained since 1974 for distributing an antigovernment tract.

May 4, 1978

Cabinet reshuffle with six new ministers of which five are civilians. Cabinet consists of six military and nine civilians.

Sept. 1978

President Traoré promoted to brigadier general and other CMLN members promoted to colonel.

Oct. 18-21, 1978

Trial before the State Security Court in Bamako of four members of the CMLN and 39 other officers accused of treason and conspiracy. Doukara and Bagayoko are condemned to death, Dembélé given 20 years of hard labor, and Sissoko five years of hard labor. Fourteen officers are acquitted, and the remainder given terms ranging from six months to 15 years.

Jan. 2, 1979

Lt. Col. Joseph Mara, a member of the CMLN, former minister of justice, and chairman of a national commission of inquiry into corrupt financial dealings of accused army officers, is arrested on charges of corruption and bribe-taking.

Feb. 27-Mar. 9, 1979

State Security Court holds second trial in Timbuctoo of accused and condemned officers now accused of corruption. Doukara is given a second death sentence, Bagayoko five years of hard labor, Dembélé 10 years, and Mara 20 years. The two trials effectively removed opposition to President Traoré in the CMLN.

Mar. 1979

Malian students take to the streets to protest the removal of the trial of Doukara and others to Timbuctoo.

June 11, 1979

The Supreme Court dismisses the verdict of the Timbuctoo-based State Security Court trial.

June 19, 1979

General elections held. President Moussa Traoré, sole candidate for the presidency, is elected. Eighty-two candidates of UDPM elected for four years to the National Assembly.

June 28, 1979

Most members of the CMLN leave the cabinet and enter the Central Committee of the UDPM.

Aug. 1979

The official Syndicat National de l'Education et de la Culture is disbanded because of internal disputes.

Oct. 1979

Dr. Mamadou Gologo, former minister of information and tourism in the Keita regime, arrested and sentenced to four years of prison for distributing leaflets criticizing the government.

Nov. 16, 1979

Violent student demonstrations and strikes throughout the country. Upper-level schools shut down. Three hundred student demonstrators arrested and inducted into the army.

Dec. 1979

Government meets student demands for reinstatement of government financial support and an easing of examination requirements for degrees and certificates. The Commission des Comités Syndicaux des Enseignants, an autonomous trade union of teachers in and around Bamako, is founded.

Dec. 17-18, 1979

Extremely violent confrontation between government forces and demonstrating students. Fifteen of the latter killed.

Jan. 14, 1980

Secondary and higher education schools reopened. The government announces the dissolution of the independent Union Nationale des Etudiants et Elèves du Mali (UNEEM) on January 15.

Feb. 1980

Massive arrests of students and teachers at former UNEEM headquarters.

Mar. 8-9, 1980

Student demonstrations, organized by the independent Union Nationale des Etudiants et Elèves du Mali (UNEEM) to coincide with the Saharan states summit in Bamako, result in violent student-military confrontation in which hundreds are arrested. Abdul Karim Camera, secretary-general of UNEEM, is arrested and dies in custody.

Mar. 29, 1980

President Traoré grants clemency to arrested students and blames March demonstrations on covert efforts to destabilize government. Student army inductees released. Numerous students suspended indefinitely and schools closed.

June 25, 1980

L'Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Mali condemns the strike by teachers and students in Bamako.

July 1, 1980

Primary school teachers boycott examinations because of government's failure to pay salaries. Twenty teachers arrested in Bamako after breakdown of negotiations.

July 2, 1980

Thirty-seven students and teachers injured when police violently attack a peaceful gathering to commemorate the death of Abdul Karim

Camera.

July 9, 1980

Student protestors attacked by police in Sevare near Mopti.

Aug. 2, 1980

Ministerial shuffle.

Sept. 1980

Thirteen of 20 teachers detained in July 1980 tried in Bamako and given sentences ranging from a suspended sentence to four months, and transported to Menaka.

Oct. 1980

President Traoré asserts in a speech that the aims of the UDPM have not been achieved. Promises special congress to "realize legitimate aspirations of the militants and thus re-launch the party."

Oct. 6-16, 1980

Primary school teachers strike at Bamako at instigation of the CCSE to protest the continued detention of 12 teachers detained since July 1980. Thirty teachers arrested.

Nov. 1980

After months of student unrest in Mali, most secondary and higher education institutions reopened. Teachers Training Institute and National School of Administration, where unrest was particularly violent, not reopened.

Nov. 13-26, 1980

Twenty-one teachers arrested in Bamako at meetings of the CCSE and eventually transported in December to remote military camps in the Gao region.

Dec. 1980

Twelve teachers arrested in September 1980, stopped in Ségou on their return from Menaka and sent back to Gao, where an appeal in camera confirms the sentences already served. The teachers are dismissed from the Ministry of Education and put at the disposal of the Ministry of the Interior. Three are allowed to return to Bamako; the others are banished to remote outposts.

Jan.-Mar. 1981

A student (found in possession of a document from a banned student organization) and 12 teachers belonging to the CCSE are arrested. These teachers and those connected in November 1980 charged with the establishment of a secret association.

Jan. 1981

New five-year development plan initiated, comprising 60 projects and totaling \$1.3 billion.

Jan. 1981

Mali expels all Libyan diplomats from country following the transformation of the Libyan embassy into a people's bureau. Diplomatic relations not severed.

Jan. 29-30, 1981

President Traoré visits Paris to request Mali's reintegration into UMOA.

Feb. 1981

President Moussa Traoré confirms a New Year's Eve plot to assassinate him and the country's military leaders. Coup planned by 15 junior officers in the police force, most of whom were arrested.

Feb. 10-13, 1981

Extraordinary Congress of the UDPM held. A liberalization of the economy decided upon, as well as the abolition of 20 of 30 parastatals. The first step of the process to be the abolition of OPAM.

Mar. 14, 1981

Three junior officers of the Gendarmerie condemned to death for plotting the assassination of President Traoré.



Apr. 5-6, 1981

President Traoré pays an official visit to Mauritania.

July 10, 1981

President Traoré announces an amnesty for detained and banished teachers. All allowed to return to their jobs except the 20 detained in Gao; these are posted to Gao and other rural areas. Most schools closed during 1980 and 1981.

Sept. 1981

President Traoré pays an official visit to China.

Nov. 20, 1981

President Traoré pays an official visit to Upper Volta and allegedly resolves border dispute with Col. Saye Zerbo.

Nov. 1981

Malian Ministry of Industrial Development announces a new mining agreement with the Soviet Union providing for \$4.2 million to be used at the Kalana deposit in Sikasso.

Dec. 1981

Mali again refused admittance to UMOA during the organization's meeting in Dakar, Senegal, because of Upper Volta's veto. Upper Volta raised border dispute issue with Mali, supposedly resolved in Ouagadougou in November during President Traoré's state visit. President Traoré not overly disappointed, for membership would mean a 50% devaluation of currency.

Feb. 1982

Congress of the UDPM held in Bamako to breathe new life into the party. Eight of the 19 members of the party's central executive bureau replaced. Three of the most senior party officials replaced: Sory Coulibaly, political secretary; Mamadou Dembélé, secretary of

external affairs; and Amadou Thiam, administrative secretary. These men were said to be behind the repression of student demonstration.

June 13, 1982

Legislative elections held in mid-June for 82 seats in the National Assembly and UDPM receives 99.8% of 3.5 million votes cast.

Following elections, Traoré reshuffled his two-year-old cabinet as part of the "breath of fresh life" approach adopted by the party's congress in February. Eight cabinet ministers retained, five removed; number increased from 15 to 18.

July 6, 1982

Cabinet reshuffled. Two top UDPM officials brought into the government and given charge of newly created "super-ministries" of supply and economy and planning.

Oct. 1982

Meeting of a joint commission on the unification of Mali and Guinea.

Oct. 15-23, 1982

President Traoré pays official visit to the Ivory Coast, Algeria, and Cap-Vert.

Dec. 1982

Mali again denied admission to UMOA because of Upper Volta's veto prompted by border dispute. Mali's first private bank established, Bank of Africa-Mali.

Dec. 13, 1982

Inauguration of the Sélingué Dam on the Sankarani River.

Jan. 1983

Party congress of UDPM held in Bamako. President Traoré announces that Malians would be encouraged to seek employment in the private sector. This was in response to demands made by the IMF in 1982 that Mali trim back state corporations and encourage free enterprise.

Jan. 1983

National Council of UDPM recommends a cutback in state employment and a campaign against bureaucratic inefficiency.

Jan. 1983

World Bank, UN agencies, and EEC pledge some \$200 million to Mali's Five-Year Development Plan encouraged by the country's new mood of austerity.

Jan. 1983

France announces an amnesty on \$10 million of pre-1978 debts owed by Mali.

Mar. 17-18, 1983

President Traoré pays an official visit to the ruler of Guinea. Both announce a plan for the cautious unification of their two countries.

May 7-9, 1983

President Traoré pays an official visit to Algeria and on May 9 signs an agreement concerning the 870-mile-long common border. This is negotiated in the spirit of the OAU charter that recognizes colonial boundaries as legitimate and a guarantee of stability on the continent. Mali and Algeria sign an agreement on the exchange of physicians and the admittance of Malians to Algerian technical schools.

May 1983

Mali awarded a \$3 million loan from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to cover part of a \$35 million telecommunications scheme.

July 1983

The International Development Association approves a \$7.6 million loan to aid Mali in the Development of biomass alcohol as an alternative

source of energy. The project should produce 500,000 gallons of alcohol a year, which will be blended with gasoline to produce gasohol. Once in full operation the project could save Mali \$1.3 million per year.

Sept. 17, 1983

Official visit of President Thomas Sankara of Upper Volta to Mali. Signature of a letter of intention between two presidents to submit the border dispute to the International Court of Justice. Speculated that rapprochement brought about by Algeria seeking to increase Algerian influence in West Africa.

Oct. 24, 1983

President Traoré pays official visit to Upper Volta.

Oct. 30-31, 1983

President Traoré pays official visit to Niger.

Nov. 1-2, 1983

President Traoré pays official visit to Guinea-Bissau.

Nov. 3, 1983

President Traoré pays official visit to Senegal.

Nov. 4-5, 1983

President Traoré pays official visit to Mauritania.

Feb. 1984

Mali's readmission to UMOA approved.

Mar. 12, 1984

Delegations from Mali and Burkina Faso meet to discuss demarcation of the border, crossborder traffic, and other border problems.

Mar. 21-30, 1984

President Moussa Traoré pays official visits to Burundi, Tanzania, and Egypt.

Apr. 26, 1984

Demarcation of the Mali-Algerian border completed in accordance with the May 1983 agreement.

June 1, 1984

Mali integrated into UMOA. CFA franc replaces Mali franc as official currency.

July-Aug. 1984

Poor rainfall in north of Mali.

Oct. 27-29, 1984

West African Economic Community (CEAO) holds tenth annual meeting in Bamako. Meeting clouded by financial scandal involving the embezzlement of \$13.6 million, earmarked for regional projects.

Nov. 1984

Mali announces that drought in the north is causing starvation. Appeal made for international aid.

1985

Severe inflation, begun in mid-1984, continues, due to refusal of merchants to halve prices in accordance with value of the CFA franc.

Feb. 1985

Crash of Air Mali Antinov-24 on take off from Timbuctoo, killing 51 passengers.

Mar. 10, 1985

U.S. Vice President George Bush visits Bamako

and announces that the U.S. will provide \$24.6 million for programs to encourage free market agricultural practices.

Mar. 31, 1985

UDPM congress ends in Bamako. The congress adopts a resolution calling for the elimination of the constitutional provision limiting presidents to two terms of office. All members of the Central Executive Bureau except one are re-confirmed.

President Traoré lists the fight against desertification and famine as the country's top priorities. He and the congress call for the creation of a national fund for self-sufficiency in food production (Fond National Pour Autosuffisance Alimentaire).

May-June 1985

The Niger and Senegal rivers at their lowest recorded levels due to poor rains in 1984.

June 1985

80,000 refugees of the drought in northern Mali, mostly nomads, living in camps near large towns. It is estimated that 70% of Tuareg livestock lost in 1984-85 drought.

June 9, 1985

President Traoré is re-elected to the presidency in national elections for a six-year term by 99.94% of voters. Eighty-two UDPM candidates are elected or re-elected (47) to the National Assembly for three-year terms, among whom are three women. The previous assembly had two women delegates.

July 1985

The U.N. Disaster Relief Organization announces at the end of July that 2,563 cases and 547 deaths have occurred from cholera, mostly in the Inland Delta of the Niger and in rural areas, between January 1

and July 31. Mali announces that \$853,000 worth of international aid is being provided to fight the epidemic.

July-Sept. 1985

Most central and southern areas of Mali receive adequate rainfall for agricultural production. Pockets of drought persist in the north.

Aug. 1985

The U.S. government provides Mali with 840,403 million CFA francs for resettling people displaced by the construction of the Manantali Dam on the Bafing River in the region of Kayes. Italy announces the loan of 4,000 million CFA francs through the Italian state company Italimianti



and Petro-Stock, the state oil company, for building a hydrocarbon depot in Kayes. Italy also lends Mali a DC-8 and two C-130 Hercules transport planes to help move 6,000 tons of donated grain from Dakar to Timbuctoo and Gao via Bamako.

Mali and the OPEC Fund for International Development sign a \$5 million loan agreement to help finance the Training Institute for Textiles Industries (ESITEX) near Ségou. The project is cofinanced by FAC and ECOWAS. This OPEC loan represents the 11th from the fund, totaling \$64.15 million. Six previous OPEC fund loans were for balance of payments support and for water, energy, and road projects.

Oct. 1985

President Traoré in a radio talk says that taking the border dispute with Burkina Faso to the International Court at The Hague "cannot hinder sub-regional cooperation."

Dec. 24-29, 1985

Five-day border war between Mali and Burkina Faso over the disputed Agacher Strip.

Jan. 18, 1986

Mali and Burkina Faso agree to withdraw their troops to positions held before hostilities broke out. Announcement of this accord is made at the Abidjan meeting of seven-nation Non-Aggression and Defense Agreement (ANAD)

Feb. 27, 1986

Fifteen Malian civilians exchanged for eight Burkinase civilian prisoners in Bamako. Mali made the exchange a condition for participation in the 35th session of the West African Economic Community (CEAO).

Mar. 1986

The UDPM National Council recommends the convocation of an extraordinary party congress. It also calls on President Traoré to set up a national commission to fight corruption.

Apr. 15-18, 1986

President Traoré makes a three-day state visit to Senegal, the first by a Malian head of state since independence.

June 1986

Mali and Burkina Faso resume diplomatic relations after they were severed in 1974. Professor Jean Salmon of the Free University of Brussels presents the Malian case before the International Court of Justice at the Hague concerning the Agacher Strip.

June 5, 1986

President Traoré reshuffles his cabinet and appoints his former personal physician, Dr. Mamadou Dembélé, a surgeon, to the newly created position of prime minister. Alione Blondin Beye, the minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, is dropped. Drissa Keita, former secretary general of the CEAO, is appointed minister of industrial development.

July 14-19, 1986

President Traoré makes a six-day state visit to the Soviet Union to reinforce already strong bilateral links and to request a rescheduling of Mali's debt.

July, 1986

Serious cholera outbreak in the Goumbou area of the *cercle* of Nara.

Oct. 1986

France expels 101 Malians for illegal residence and drug trafficking.

Nov. 1986

President François Mitterand of France visits Mali while in West Africa for the thirteenth Franco-African Summit. He promises assistance in paying salaries to government workers and gives assurances that summary expulsions of Malians will not recur.

Dec. 22, 1986

The International Court of Justice at the Hague divides the 1,140 square miles of the Agacher Strip between Mali and Burkina Faso. President Traoré states that he is very satisfied with the court's decision.

Feb. 12, 1987

President Traoré carries out a minor government shuffle.

Mar. 20-31, 1987

The second extraordinary congress of the UDPM takes place in Bamako. The congress adopts a charter of national tendencies and management of public life to combat corruption. A special commission consisting of sixteen members and led by President Traoré is set up. Its purpose is to replace the party's national council and central executive bureau and to govern the UDPM until its third ordinary congress in March 1988. The special commission's objectives are to combat corruption and to address the country's economic and social problems. The extraordinary congress reduces the number of members of the national council from 300 to 100.

May 1987

An Islamic Center is inaugurated in Bamako,

consisting of a mosque, a 16-classroom school, an administrative building, a sports center, a library, and an auditorium. It is funded by Libya and the United Arab Emirates, which promise to pay operating costs for 25 years.

Aug. 1987

Mali and Mauritania agree to maintain their common borders demarcated by the February 16, 1963, treaty.

Aug. 20, 1987

Soumana Sacko, appointed minister of finance in February, unsuccessfully attempts to seize a large quantity of gold in order to obtain duty payments before export. Sacko, who enjoys broad popular support for his honesty, integrity, and competence, resigns on August 22 to protest the government's failure to support him.

Dec. 5, 1987

Nine people sentenced to death by the Mali state security court for embezzling public funds. Two people given life sentences and several hard labor sentences after a three-week long "show" trial. The trial is seen by many as an attempt to shift the focus away from President Traoré and his cronies, who are perceived as engaged in massive embezzlement of public funds and foreign assistance monies.

Feb. 15, 1988

A technical reshuffle of the cabinet takes place.

Mar. 3, 1988

Students from the Bamako Teacher Training College demonstrate during state visit of West German President Richard Von Weizsacker. The demonstration was ostensibly in response to the transfer of a philosophy professor. However, it was organized by teachers to protest the delay in their salary payments.

Mar. 1988

A joint Mali-Burkina Faso technical commission established to demarcate the border in the Agacher Strip.

Mar. 28-31, 1988

Third party congress of the UDPM held in Bamako. Its themes are fighting corruption in the public sector, national initiatives, and unity of action. General Amadou Baba Diarra, the number-two man in the regime, is voted out of the central executive bureau. Boubacar Diallo becomes deputy secretary-general and the second-highest-ranking person in the party. Djibril Diallo remains as the party's political secretary.

May 31, 1988

Mali and Mauritania jointly announce plans to demarcate their borders in accordance with the 1963 Kayes Treaty.

May, 1988

President Traoré becomes chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

June 6, 1988

Cabinet reshuffled and post of prime minister, created in 1986, abolished. Mamadou Dembélé, the former prime minister, is given the health portfolio.

June 26, 1988

National Assembly elections held in which 82 deputies are elected for three-year terms.

Sept. 22, 1988

President Traoré announces the closure of the infamous Taoudeni salt mine prison and amnesty for 78 prisoners. Three military plotters in the failed coup of 1978, Lt. Col. Karim Dembélé, Bat. Cdr. Abou Traoré, and Gen. Nouthoum Diawara, are released.

Oct. 6-9, 1988

President Traoré makes a first official visit to the United States.

Oct. 23, 1988

Local elections held for municipal councils.

Nov. 17, 1988

Mali extends official recognition to the Palestinian state.

Nov. 18, 1988

President Traoré gives total amnesty to 237 detainees on the 20th anniversary of his assumption of power.

1989

Libya begins deportation of close to 3,000 Malians, many of them Tuareg men who once served in the "Islamic Legion."

Jan. 1989

President Traoré makes an official visit to China.

Feb. 5, 1989

Boubacar Diallo, deputy general secretary of the UDPM, dies in Bamako.

Mar. 1989

*Les Echos*, an independent bimonthly newspaper, first published in Bamako by the Jamana publishing company directed by former minister of sport, art and culture Alpha Oumar Konaré, who in 1992 becomes Mali's fourth president.

June 8, 1989

Cabinet reshuffled. The departures include Modibo Keita (foreign affairs) and Dr. Mamadou Dembélé (health).

June 1989

Mali's State Security Court gives out four death sentences for embezzlement of public monies.

July 1989

A \$56 million education project launched with contributions from several donors. Its aim is to reverse a decline in primary school enrollment.



Sept. 12, 1989

Minor cabinet reshuffle with Brigadier-General Mamadou Coulibaly being named delegate minister of defense, replacing Brigadier-General Abdoulaye Ouologuem.

Dec. 1989

The UDPM's national council, aware of the possible "Eastern Europe effect," firmly rejects multipartyism as an option for Mali.

Jan. 28-29, 1990

Official visit of Pope John Paul II to Mali as part of a tour of some of West Africa's poorest countries.

Apr. 1, 1990

Regional conference of the UDPM held in Bamako, at which some speakers urge multiparty democracy.

Apr. 1990

Jamana publishing company, subsidized by monies from France, launches four new publications, *Concorde*, *La Roue*, *Yiriwa*, and *L'Aurore*.

May 1990

Armed Tuareg groups attack government posts in Mali and Niger. In Mali, Tchintabaraden is attacked and 63 killed in an army counterattack.

June 7, 1990

President Traoré visits Mauritania to discuss attacks by armed Berber groups in northern Mali. The Front for the Liberation of the Azawad, a nascent but militant grouping of Tuareg and Arab insurgents, claims responsibility for the attacks and seeks to establish a new state in northern Mali.

June 29, 1990

Armed Tuareg attack police post at Menaka in eastern Mali, killing 14, including the *cercle* commandant and his wife. Buildings occupied by World Vision, an American NGO, are destroyed by the Tuareg. The purpose of the raid is to free imprisoned Tuareg from Niger. Many of the armed Tuareg are former members of Libya's "Islamic Legion," recruited to fight in Chad and in Western Sahara.

July 12, 1990

Interior ministers from Algeria, Mali, and Niger meet in Tamanrasset to discuss increasing armed attacks of the Tuareg.

July, 1990

A French physician, his wife, and son are killed by Tuareg in the Gao region.

Aug. 7, 1990

An open letter signed by several hundred is addressed to President Traoré, requesting multipartyism and democracy.

Aug. 1990

The UDPM's national council decides to defer a

decision on multipartyism to the March 1991 congress.

Sept. 8-9, 1990

A quadripartite summit held in Djanet in southern Algeria to deal with common border problems and to end the marginalization of the Tuareg. In attendance are Presidents Chadly Bendjedid (Algeria), Moussa Traoré (Mali), Ali Saibou (Niger), and Colonel Gaddafi (Libya).

Sept. 1990

Amnesty International charges that Tuareg civilians in Mali and Niger have been the victims of atrocities inflicted by security forces. Tilat, a Tuareg solidarity organization, set up in Paris.

Oct. 9, 1990

Government publishes a white paper on the "murderous" attacks by the Tuareg in the region of Gao and Timbuctoo. This document also describes the 112 foreign-funded projects undertaken in these two regions. The white paper blames the Islamic Movement for the Liberation of the Azawad and other groups for the strife and claims that their aim is to set up an independent Tuareg state. It neglects to describe Malian army atrocities against Tuareg civilians.

Oct. 1990

Iyad Ag Ghali, general secretary of the Popular Movement of the Azawad (MPA), states that his movement has 1,500 men whose aim is to set up a free Tuareg state. He denounces Malian army attacks on civilian Tuareg and the confiscation of their livestock.

Oct. 1990

The conflict in the north of Mali becomes one of Tuareg rebel attacks on army posts and administrative centers followed by army reprisals against civilian Tuareg who are not involved in military actions.

Oct. 18, 1990

The Comité National d'Initiative Démocratique (CNID) adopts a manifesto during a constitutive assembly in Bamako. Led by Mountaga Tall, the general secretary of the Malian bar, CNID declares itself in favor of political parties and associations. It is the first of several prodemocracy groups, encouraged by the collapse of dictatorial Eurocommunism in 1989, to challenge the dictatorship of President Traoré.

Oct. 20-21, 1990

Thirty Malian army soldiers are killed by Tuareg insurgents in the north at Marat. Four army

vehicles are captured by the Tuareg and three soldiers taken prisoner.

Oct. 30, 1990

The Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali (ADEMA) is formed as a prodemocracy group under the leadership of Alpha Oumar Konaré, the director of Jamana Publishing. The ADEMA leadership consists of the promoters of the August 7 letter to President Traoré asking for democracy and multipartyism. ADEMA advocates political pluralism and democracy.

Oct. 31, 1990

The Rassemblement pour la Démocratie et le Progrès (RDP), formed by an expatriate group in Gabon, calls for multipartyism in Mali. Sékéné Mody Cissoko, the group's secretary-general, calls on President Traoré to accept multipartyism.

Oct. 1990

Small prodemocracy demonstrations take place in Bamako. Pressure mounts for President Traoré to introduce democratic changes quickly. The government responds to the vociferous demands of independent newspapers with a warning that the multiparty issue will be discussed at the March 1991 congress of the UDPM. In a letter to President Traoré, Archbishop Luc Sangaré advocates multipartyism, as does the nations' Moslem Association.

Nov. 4, 1990

Local elections held in Bamako's six communes. Thirty-seven municipal advisors are chosen.

Dec. 10, 1990

CNID mobilizes 10,000 for a peaceful demonstration in Bamako to demand democracy and multipartyism.

Dec. 27, 1990

The government places curbs on the free press.

Dec. 30, 1990

Some 20,000 are mobilized by prodemocracy groups for a peaceful march in Bamako.

Jan. 3, 1991

In a hard-line approach to the growing prodemocracy movement, the ministry of the interior promulgates a regulation requiring that independent newspapers submit two copies of each issue 48 hours before public sale. This measure is denounced by prodemocracy groups as an attempt at censure.

Jan. 5, 1991

Peaceful antigovernment marches take place in Bamako along with pro-UDPM marches.

Jan. 6, 1991

Two Tuareg rebel groups and the government sign a peace accord in Tamanrasset (Algeria).

Major concessions given to the rebels, including the establishment of an autonomous region in the Adrar, allocation of a third of the national budget for five years to the regions of Gao and Timbuctoo, and the withdrawal of the army from the two areas.

Jan. 7, 1991

CNID and ADEMA hold a joint press conference demanding multipartyism and democracy.

Jan. 8-9, 1991

Forty-eight hour strike by the national union (UNTM) over demands for a 50% increase in wages, employment security, and unpaid advances dating to 1985.

Jan. 8, 1991

Under increasing pressure from unions for demands he cannot meet, from prodemocracy groups for demands he refuses to meet, and beleaguered by the Tuareg insurrection, President Traoré reshuffles his cabinet and appoints two hard-line military men Lt. Col. Sékou Ly as minister of the interior and General Mamadou Coulibaly as minister of defense. Despite pressures from within Mali and from prodemocracy movements elsewhere in Africa, Traoré refuses to give concessions, maintaining that democraticization issues will be discussed at the March UDPM congress and within the context of the UDPM.

Jan. 18, 1991

Sékou Ly, minister of the interior, tells ADEMA and CNID to cease all political activities.

Jan. 21-22, 1991

Serious antigovernment demonstrations in Bamako. Tanks and tear gas are used to put down the worst rioting since independence. The

demonstrations follow the arrest of Oumar Mariko, the secretary-general of the student association (AEEM). Most demonstrators are students, joined by the unemployed, and attack and loot the homes of government leaders and those of two of Traoré's relatives. Four people are killed. Lawyers and magistrates march in protest of the government's failure to execute an arrest order against a political leader indicted for embezzlement.

Jan. 23, 1991

Armored vehicles stationed around Bamako to prevent vandalism.



Jan. 24, 1991

State of emergency lifted in Gao and Timbuctoo, following Tuareg government peace accord.

Jan. 25, 1991

Sékou Ly, minister of the interior, announces that the government is neither for nor against multipartyism and that the best place for a discussion of the subject is the upcoming March UDPM congress.

The government accedes to the demands of lawyers and magistrates, who end their strike.

Jan. 30, 1991

Secretary-general of AEEM released.

Jan. 31, 1991

Release of 196 of 232 people, some of them children, arrested in the rioting of the previous week.

Jan. 31, 1991

Students demonstrate in Sikasso. Several injured and one killed.

Feb. 14, 1991

Government orders schools to reopen.

Feb. 18, 1991

Djibril Diallo, political secretary of the UDPM, openly and publicly declares himself in favor of multipartyism. The defection of the second-ranking member of the UDPM is a serious blow to President Traoré.

Feb. 21, 1991

Interior Minister Sékou Ly meets with prodemocracy group leaders. Their five-hour meeting ends in failure.

Feb. 1991

Mountaga Tall, the head of CNID and secretary-general of the bar, is forced to go into temporary exile because of death threats.

Feb. 1991

Faced with demands for multipartyism from within the ranks of his own party and from prodemocracy groups, and conscious of French President François Mitterand's pronouncements with regard to linking aid to democratization at the Franco-African summit at La Baule in 1990, President Traoré begins to moderate his position. He hints at a possible referendum on Mali's political system, advises gradualism, but has no real intentions of yielding power.

Feb. 1991

The UNTM declares its commitment to the continuing struggle for multipartyism.

Feb. 25, 1991

Despite the Tamanrasset accord of January 6, 1991, Tuareg attack a phosphate mine in Gao, killing two and wounding three.

Mar. 3, 1991

Several tens of thousands of people march in Bamako to demand multipartyism.

Mar. 4, 1991

Several thousand students peacefully march in Bamako.

Mar. 4-7, 1991

Follow-up commission to the Tamanrasset agreement meets in Gao. The commission consists of 22 members (eight from the government, eight from the Tuareg rebel movement, and six from Algeria).

Mar. 17, 1991

AEEM orchestrates a well-organized march of many thousands of students in Bamako to mark the eleventh anniversary of the death of Abdul Karim Camara, a former student leader. AEEM puts pressure on the government to accede to its demands for better stipends and government employment for graduates.

Mar. 21-22, 1991

Students in Bamako go on a two-day strike to protest the ministry of education's alleged dilatory attitude in its ongoing negotiations with students. The minister of education, Bakary Traoré, becomes the focus of student anger.

Mar. 22, 1991

Prodemocracy groups and students intensify the pressure on President Traoré and organize massive demonstrations that turn violent. Rioters erect barricades and ransack and burn several ministry buildings and the headquarters of the World Bank. Thirty people are killed as the Malian army uses machine guns to quell the riot. Sensing the peril to his hold on power, President Traoré addresses the nation and appeals for calm. He confirms that the next congress of the UDPM, on March 28, will discuss multipartyism and announces a state of emergency in the country's major cities (demonstrations also take place in Kayes, Ségou, Mopti, Sikasso, Gao, and Kati).

Mar. 23, 1991

Seeing an opportunity to topple the Traoré regime, students and prodemocracy groups mount massive and violent demonstrations that result in confrontations with the military and police and the destruction of public and private property. Several demonstrators are killed. Bakary Traoré, minister of education, is clubbed to death by demonstrators and his body burned, as is Ibrahim Douah Cissoko, the director of customs and Madame Traoré's brother.

Mar. 23, 1991

Prodemocracy groups form a coordinating committee, led by Bakary Karambé, head of the UNTM. It is called the Comité de Coordination des Associations et Organisations Démocratiques (CCAOD).

Mar. 24, 1991

The coordinating committee of prodemocracy groups demands President Traoré's resignation. Thousands assemble in front of the labor office and 65 die in riots and fires in the commercial center of Bamako. Opposition groups call for a 48-hour strike.

Mar. 25, 1991

The government and opposition groups meet and the curfew is lifted. The government announces the release of all persons detained during the riots of January 21-22 and March 22-23.

Mar. 26, 1991

President Traoré overthrown in a military coup d'etat led by the commander of the Parachute Unit, Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Touré. Radio Mali announces the formation of the Conseil de Réconciliation Nationale (CRN). The constitution, government, national assembly, and the UDPM are dissolved.

Mar. 27, 1991

Mali's new military leader and head of the 17 member CRN announces that free and democratic elections will be held as soon as possible and that former President Traoré will be brought to trial.

Mar. 27, 1991

Many see Touré and the CRN as political opportunists, seizing power for themselves amid the chaotic riot conditions created by the prodemocracy groups and others.

Mar. 27, 1991

France and other foreign donors let Touré know that aid to Mali will cease without rapid democratization.

Mar. 27, 1991

Prodemocracy groups tell the CRN at a meeting that they will not tolerate continued military rule and that they will continue their demonstrations against them if they do not yield power.

Mar. 30, 1991

A Comité de Transition pour le Salut du Peuple (CTSP) is organized. It consists of 25 members (10 military and 15 civilian) and is responsible for directing the political life of the country until free elections are organized.

Mar. 31, 1991

The CRN dissolves itself and is replaced by the

CTSP, bowing to threats from prodemocracy groups of continued riots and threats of termination of aid from foreign donors.

Apr. 2, 1991

Soumana Sacko, a former minister of finance respected for his honesty, is named prime minister.

Apr. 2, 1991

The CTSP, chaired by Mali's new military president, Lt. Col. Touré, announces that municipal, legislative, and presidential elections will be organized by the end of 1991. Touré announces that the army will withdraw from political life by January 20, 1992. The CTSP promises to call a national conference within three months to develop a consensus on political electoral and constitutional reform.

Apr. 5, 1991

Political parties permitted to organize.

Apr. 6, 1991

Tuareg rebels attack Tessit in the Gao region and kidnap the chef d'arrondissement, his secretary, and two children.

Apr. 13, 1991

Prime Minister Sacko meets with a delegation of Tuareg from the Mouvement Populaire de l'Azaouad, headed by Iyad Ag Ghali.

Apr. 15-30, 1991

Several new political parties registered.

May 1991

ADEMA and CNID register as political parties.

May 12, 1991

Tuareg rebels attack a village in the Mopti region. Several Arab-owned shops in Timbuctoo attacked by blacks in retaliation for Tuareg

attacks. The Front Populaire de Libération de l'Azaouad (FPLA) claims responsibility for recent attacks in the north.

May 12, 1991

President Touré visits Libya and Algeria to discuss security problems in the north.

May 15, 1991

The *cercle* of Kidal is made a region as promised in the Tamanrasset agreement.

May 30, 1991

Thirty-six Tuareg civilians killed at *Léré* in reprisals by the army, according to Amnesty International.

June 5-10, 1991

The MPA meets in Tamanrasset, Algeria, and announces a truce in Gao and Timbuctoo.

June 12, 1991

A total of 22 political parties and 1,070 associations officially registered.

June 18, 1991

The government announces that more than twenty Tuareg rebels were killed the previous month.

June 24, 1991

Two influential members of the CTSP arrested



and charged with attempting to help the ex-president and his wife to escape. They are Traoré's ex-aide-de-camp, Lt. Col. Oumar Diallo, and Maj. Anatole Sangaré.

July 15, 1991

Attempted coup d'état led by Major Lamine Diabira, minister of territorial administration and former governor of the Timbuctoo region. Diabira and seven accomplices arrested.

July 25, 1991

New Tuareg attacks in the Timbuctoo region.

July 29-Aug. 12, 1991

National Conference takes place in Bamako and decides on Mali's political future. The conference specifically addresses the issues of a new constitution, electoral code, and charters for political parties.

Aug. 6, 1991

New Tuareg attacks in the north.

Aug. 21, 1991

Swiss authorities confirm that ex-President Traoré had transferred in excess of \$1.0 billion into various accounts. It is estimated that the ex-president and his entourage embezzled \$2.0 billion, an amount equal to Mali's external debt.

Aug. 27, 1991

President Touré instructs the government to organize a referendum on the new constitution.

Aug. 28, 1991

Tuareg rebels claim to have killed 65 military personnel.

Aug. 1991

Seven government ministers are replaced and some CTSP members

dropped because of their involvement in the repression early in the year.

Sept. 19, 1991

Two hundred five Malians expelled by Libya arrive in Bamako.

Sept. 22, 1991

President Touré announces amnesty for 64 prisoners on the 31st anniversary of independence. He announces that a special conference will open in Timbuctoo on November 15 to discuss the rebellion in the north. He calls upon all Tuareg to participate.

Sept. 24, 1991

The government announces that the referendum on the constitution and municipal elections will be held on December 1. The first round of legislative elections is to take place December 22 and the first round of presidential elections on January 5.

Oct.-Nov. 1991

Tuareg rebel groups keep up attacks in the north, at Ballé in Western Mali and in Menaka in the far eastern part of the country. These attacks are

form a commission to monitor the truce. Algerian representatives to be members of the truce commission.

Feb. 9, 1992

Installation of truce monitoring commission in the north of the country.

Feb. 12, 1992

President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso visits Mali. He and Touré commit themselves to a delimitation of their common border.

Feb. 14, 1992

Mali's supreme court formally proclaims the adoption of the constitution of the third republic, approved by the January 12 referendum.

Feb. 20, 1992

Electoral campaign begins for the March legislative elections.

Feb. 24, 1992

First round of legislative elections.

Mar. 6, 1992

One hundred thirty-seven Malians who were expelled from Zambia arrive in Bamako.

Mar. 8, 1992

Second round of legislative elections. ADEMA wins 76 of 116 contested seats, the CNID, 9 seats, and the US-RDA, 8 seats.

Remainder of seats goes to several other parties. Thirteen seats are reserved for representing Malians living abroad, making for 129 seats. Participation in the election is 21.09% of registered voters.

Mar. 12, 1992

Presidential elections postponed from March 12 to April 26 in order to

give candidates time to campaign.

Mar. 23, 1992

Tuareg rebel groups and the government agree to sign a peace pact, ending two years of fighting.

Apr. 12, 1992

National pact signed in Bamako between government and Tuareg rebel groups.

Apr. 12, 1992

First round of presidential elections. Alpha Oumar Konaté of ADEMA receives 44.95% of the votes, Tieoulé Mamadou Konaté of the USRDA, 14.51%, and Mountaga Tall of CNID, 11.41%. Six other candidates take the remaining votes.

Apr. 21, 1992

Mali joins Air Afrique, the purchase of its shares paid for by France.

Apr. 25, 1992

President Touré receives representatives of the Tuareg movements.

Apr. 26, 1992

Second round of presidential elections in which only 16% of eligible voters turn out. Alpha Oumar Konaré, the head of ADEMA, wins 70.71% of the votes, followed by Tieoulé Mamadou Konaté of the US-RDA, who wins 30.07%.

May 11, 1992

A Front Sauvegarde de la Démocratie (FSD), also known as the Republican Pact, is formed, consisting of thirteen political parties and headed by Tieoulé Mamadou Konaté of the US-RDA and Almamy Sylla of the RDP. This group proposes to be a democratic opposition to ADEMA.

May 22, 1992

The Supreme Court officially proclaims Alpha Oumar Konaré president.

June 1992

Ex-President Traoré accuses the French government, the French Socialist Party, President Mitterand's wife, Danielle, and her France-Libertés Association of being behind the protests that brought about his downfall.

June 4, 1992

The opening of ex-President Traore's trial at the Palace of Culture is postponed because it is boycotted by Traoré's 75-member defense team, who claim there are inadequate security measures. Trial eventually postponed to November 26.

June 8, 1992

Alpha Oumar Konaré officially installed as president of Mali. President Touré retires. President Konaré names his cabinet and chooses Younoussi Touré as prime minister. New government made up of 18 ministers and one secretary of state. ADEMA takes most portfolios, but the US-RDA and the PDP (Parti pour la Démocratie et le Progrès) also given portfolios.

June 30, 1992

Malian army charged with killing 40 people (most Mauritians) in a

reprisal attack on the Mali-Mauritania border. It was also charged that 30 shops were looted.

July 1992

Ten members of the FIAA arrested in Nouakchott, Mauritania, including the organization's general secretary, who helped negotiate the National Pact. The arrests come a few days after the return from Mali of the Mauritanian minister of defense and the visit to the border of Mauritania's minister of the interior.

July 13, 1992

Aly Nouhoun Diallo, political secretary of ADEMA, elected president of the new National Assembly.

July 23, 1992

Tuareg attacks continue in the north. Six Malian soldiers killed and seven injured in one attack.

July 24-28, 1992

Leaders of Tuareg rebel groups and Malian officials meet in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Malians attempt to persuade Rissa Sidi Mohamed, the

secretary general of the FPLA, to help implement the April peace accord.

July 24, 1992

President Konaré visits Côte d'Ivoire.

Aug. 5, 1992}

Personal immunity granted to ex-President General Amadou Toumani Touré for all acts and deeds for the period November 10, 1969, through June 8, 1992. The intent of this bill is to prevent anyone from bringing Touré to account for past misdeeds, including his role in suppressing student protests in 1980-1981 and in the death of popular student leader Abdul Karim Camara, secretary-general of UNEEM.

Sept. 7, 1992

Former President Jimmy Carter makes a 24-hour visit to Mali and is welcomed by former President, General Amadou Toumani Touré. Carter's visit is concerned with the eradication of guinea worm.

Sept. 9, 1992

Lt. Col. Toumani Sissoko appointed chief of staff of the army. Some 45 senior officers also replaced.

Sept. 11, 1992

President Konaré visits Burkina Faso. The latter declares its full support for the National Pact.

Oct. 9, 1992

President Konaré announces that France will provide financial help to implement the provisions of the April National Pact with the Tuareg.

Oct. 31, 1992

End of congress of the Tuareg umbrella organization, the Mouvements et Fronts Unifiés de l'Azaouad (MFUA), at Taouardei in Gao. The

group now calls itself the Front Pour la Libération de l'Azaouad (FLA). The congress supports the National Pact and in the Taouardei Declaration declares its commitment to the rapid implementation of the pact's provisions. An Azawad consultative council of 40 members is created, new members of the National Pact Monitoring and Ceasefire Commission elected, and fighters chosen to join joint patrols. Ali Nouhoun Diallo, president of the National Assembly, is in attendance.

Nov. 14, 1992

The National Assembly adopts a new press law, but only ADEMA deputies participate in the vote. A higher communications council is established as well as a national committee for political parties to have access to state media.



Nov. 26, 1992

Ex-President Traoré's trial resumes. He and 16 former ministers are tried for "blood crimes" and the deaths of over 200 in the March 1991 riots. Traoré is represented by a team of a dozen lawyers and accuses France of plotting his downfall.

Nov. 1992

France announces that it will equip mixed Tuareg-Malian army patrols and that it is sending a senior officer to the north where four mixed patrols are already operational under Algerian officers. The purpose of mixed patrols is to end attacks by uncontrollable armed elements among the Tuareg.

Dec. 21, 1992

Mali and Algeria sign an agreement in Tamanrasset concerning the repatriation of Malian Tuareg. The two also agree on a development program for the border area.

Jan. 15, 1993

Opposition parties of the FSD and CNID (which is not a member of the former) accuse the presidential majority (ADEMA) of limiting their access to the state media (radio and television). They also denounce the new law on the press, characterizing it as "antidemocratic."

Jan. 20, 1993

Burkinase President Blaise Compoaré travels to Mali for a visit to discuss the Tuareg problem and bilateral relations. He states that Rhissa Ag Mohammed, the hawkish Tuareg leader who refused to sign the National Pact, is not in Burkina Faso.

Jan. 24, 1993

The French minister for cooperation, Marcel Debarge, announces in

Bamako that France will provide Mali with 500 million francs in aid in 1993. He also announces that France will provide 42 all-terrain vehicles (including 25 Japanese-made pick-up trucks), sophisticated communication gear, and 300 million CFA francs for joint patrols in the north.

Feb. 5, 1993

Various segments of the FPLA meet to reconcile differences.

Feb. 9, 1993

Malian army mistakenly fires on a Nigerien patrol in the border area of Tahoua (Niger), killing four. The Nigeriens were pursuing Tuareg rebels and were mistaken for the latter by the Malians. This incident follows a Tuareg attack in Tassara (Niger) in which 30 are killed.

Feb. 9, 1993

Mali and Algeria sign an agreement regarding the repatriation and reintegration of Tuareg refugees. The agreement, drawn up with the help of the United Nations, is to repatriate the 100,000 Tuareg which the MFUA claims live in southern Algeria.

Feb. 11, 1993

Six hundred former rebels associated with the Front Pour la Libération de l'Azaouad (FLA), a Tuareg umbrella organization, are integrated into the army at a ceremony attended by the Ambassador of Algeria, the Commissioner of the North, representatives of the FLA, and the Minister of Defense, Abdoulaye Sow. The signing of the document formally integrating these men in the army, in theory, ends the rebellion in the north.

Feb. 12, 1993

Ex-President Traoré is sentenced to death for his role in the deaths of 106 people during the antigovernment riots. Three senior ex-army officers are given life sentences: General Mamadou Coulibaly, ex-minister of defense; General Sekou Ly, ex-minister of territorial administration; and ex-army chief, General Ousmane Coulibaly. Twenty-eight others, either ex-members or leaders of the UDPM, are acquitted.

Feb. 15, 1993

Students at the Katibougou rural polytechnical institute, long a hotbed of student protests, riot and ransack the buildings, protesting a cut in their grants.

Apr. 5, 1993

Students in Bamako riot and attack public and private buildings. One person is killed and 45 injured, including 20 from the security forces. Organized by AEEM, students set fire to the National Assembly

building, the offices of ADEMA, President Konaré's private residence, the home of the minister of state for national education and those of other government officials. Students also attempt to attack the national radio station. This is the latest of regular student protests that have occurred since October 1992. The trigger for this riot is the belief by students that the government was involved in organizing a congress which would change student leadership in AEEM. However, anger over the government's failure to live up to election promises of increased grants

and other entitlements also plays a role. Prime Minister Touré appeals for calm and states that the student riots are political and have nothing to do with education.

Apr. 9, 1993

Continued student protests as well as pressures from the radical wing of ADEMA bring down the 10-month-old government of Prime Minister Younoussi Touré. In an address to the nation, President Konaré accepts Touré's resignation and thanks the government for its dedication and sacrifice. He asks students not to destroy public and private property.

Apr. 11, 1993

Tuareg refugees begin to return to Mali from Algeria, in accordance with the accords of the April 1992 National Pact.

Apr. 13, 1993

President Konaré appoints Abdoulaye Sékou Sow as prime minister. Sow previously served as minister of state in charge of defense under President Touré. Sow quickly forms a coalition government, giving three portfolios to CNID-justice, mines, and housing; and two to the Rassemblement pour la Démocratie et le Progrès (RDP)-labor and relations with institutions.

Apr. 17, 1993

Abdoulaye Sékou Sow recommends a new government to President Konaré. The new council of ministers has 22 members compared to 20 before. With the addition of the CNID and the RDP, seven political parties are represented in the government. ADEMA holds eight of 22 portfolios.

Apr. 1993

Fatoumata Ndiaye Diakité appointed commissioner for the promotion

of women with cabinet rank.

Apr. 1993

Reporters Sans Frontières, a French group dedicated to defending freedom of the press, condemns the two-year prison sentences given to two journalists of *Les Echos* for violation of the recently enacted press laws.

May 8, 1993

Rhissa Ag Mohammed (aka Rhissa Sidi Mohamed), the Tuareg leader, welcomes the return to Mali of refugees living in Algeria. He asks the Algerian and Malian authorities to guarantee the safety of the new arrivals.

June 13, 1993

Two associates of former President Traoré try to relaunch the UDPM. A constitutive assembly is

held in Bamako and decides to relaunch the party and adapt it to the new multiparty political scene. President Konaré characterized the UDPM as antidemocratic. The UDPM plans to seek legal status from the ministry of territorial administration.

July 8-14, 1993

First national conference of ADEMA. In spite of a splinter group's call for a change in leadership, the conference gives a full vote of confidence to President Konaré.

July 1993

The UDPM seeks legalization. President Konaré and the republican pact political parties are unanimous in their opposition to the relaunching of the UDPM.

Aug. 2, 1993

International convertability of CFA notes suspended outside of the franc zone.

Aug. 30, 1993

Grand Marché in Bamako burns, allegedly because of faulty electric wiring. Merchants lose large quantities of goods. Given recent acts of arson by students, some suspect them of causing the fire but are unable to produce convincing proof.

Sept. 12, 1993

Malian and Mauritanian interior ministers sign an agreement in Kayes after a four-day meeting concerning some 13,000 Mauritanian refugees in Mali. According to the independent Malian press, the Mauritians contested the Mauritanian nationality of the refugees because they are "all black Africans." The agreement also covers the protection of people and goods along the joint border.

Sept. 15, 1993

The government announces austerity measures.

Oct. 14, 1993

Five people killed by Tuareg "bandits" during an attack on a military patrol protecting a joint Mali-Algeria antilocus effort. This is latest of Tuareg "bandit" attacks that have sporadically occurred since the National Pact was signed in April, 1992.

Nov. 6, 1993

Major reshuffling of the government takes place. The number of ministries is reduced from 23 to 18 and eight ministers leave. Among the latter are those for territorial administration, foreign affairs and economy, finance, and planning. The reshuffling reinforces ADEMA's position in the cabinet.



IMF and the World Bank temporarily suspend their aid two weeks after signing an agreement because of Mali's failure to control expenditures.

Nov. 12, 1993

The US-RDA departs from the government coalition with the resignations of Baba Hakib Haidara, special advisor to the president; Daba Diawara, secretary general; and Mamadou Bamou Traoré, minister of secondary and further education. The latter leaves on November 9, forty-eight hours after the formation of a new government. The departures represent the growing rift between ADEMA and the resuscitated Marxist US-RDA.

Nov. 17-18, 1993

One hundred ten people arrested in Bamako after a demonstration by market traders whose goods were seized on November 17 because of tax fraud. During this violent demonstration, traders burned two government vehicles, destroyed traffic signals, and damaged public transport vehicles.

Dec. 9, 1993

Government announces that a planned coup d'etat was foiled. The plot was led by former Lt. Colonel Oumar Diallo. Diallo was in detention since June 1991 for attempting to help former President Traoré and his wife escape. Four other officers who were part of the plot are arrested. Twenty-four people are killed and 50 wounded in a confrontation between two Peul groups.

Dec. 25, 1993

Mali and Niger agree to step up efforts to improve security along their border in the area of Gao (Mali) and Tillabéri (Niger). They agree to provide military escorts for truck convoys.

Jan. 1994

Five refugee centers for displaced Tuareg from Mali and Niger are set up in Algeria by the High Commission For Refugees. The purpose of the centers is to improve living conditions of the refugees and to encourage voluntary repatriation.

Jan. 12, 1994

CFA Franc devalued from 296 to 527 per U.S. dollar.

Jan. 23-24, 1994

Ethiopian Airlines plane hijacked en route from Dakar to Bamako with 44 passengers on board. A 25-year-old Ethiopian hijacker later surrenders in Rome, Italy, and requests political asylum.

Feb. 2, 1994

Prime minister Abdoulaye Sékou Sow resigns

after sharp disagreements with several cabinet ministers representing the radical wing of ADEMA.

Students demonstrate following the government's reversal on a decision to give grants on the basis of performance, age, and social status. Students also demand an increase in grants following the devaluation of the CFA.

Feb. 5, 1994

President Alpha Oumar Konaré appoints the minister of foreign affairs, Boubacar Keita, as prime minister. Miffed at not being consulted about the formation of a new government, CNID and RDP pull their ministers out. CNID was represented by three ministers: Yoro Diakité (mines, energy and water resources); Amidou Diabaté (justice); and Abdoulaye Diop (town planning and housing). The RDP was represented by Ousmane Oumarou Sidibé (employment, civil service, and labor).

Feb. 15, 1994

Secondary and higher education students stage violent protest in Bamako and commit widespread acts of vandalism. They attack the home of Adama Samassekou, minister of education. The students demand an increase in and prompt payment of grants. In response to the violent protest, the government closes all public and private secondary schools, vocational and technical schools, and all institutions of higher learning. Twenty-nine people, mostly students, are arrested.

Feb. 18, 1994

In the interests of public order, the government closes down Radio Kaira, one of six independent radio stations in Mali. Radio Kaira has close ties to certain opposition groups.

Feb. 25, 1994

Colonel Saloum Bilal, military leader of the Tuareg movement MPA, is killed in an armed attack by unidentified gunmen, 100 kilometers from Gao. One other person dies in the attack and another is injured. A third is abducted by the assailants and a fourth escapes. Bilal was one of the principal architects of the April 1992 National Pact and had survived several previous ambushes.

Four agents of the Service des Eaux et Forets

are killed by armed men in the cercle of Nara. This attack and the assassination of Colonel Bilal underscore the continuing insecurity present in the north of the country.

Feb. 1994

Mali solicits IMF and World Bank agreement for a medium-term economic program aimed at mitigating the adverse effects of the CFA franc devaluation in January. The government presents a medium-term program (1994-1996) with priorities in education, health, rural development, and the promotion of women. The IMF promises 50 billion and the World Bank 157.8 billion CFA francs to support the program.

Mar. 31, 1994

Residence of France's consul-general attacked and looted in Bamako by a group of youths calling themselves the "Armed Resistance Group." The group issues a statement threatening attacks on foreign interests, especially American, French, and German.

Apr. 1994

A scheduled meeting between the government and the Tuareg umbrella organization, FLA, scheduled for April 7-9, is postponed. The meeting was to review implementation of the National Pact signed in 1992. The postponement is largely due to fighting among the Tuareg, especially the MPA and ARLA. The latter two organizations have been engaged in armed conflict with one another in the regions of Gao and Kidal for several months.

Apr. 19, 1994

FLA and the government meet in Tamanrasset, Algeria, and postpone discussion of the numbers of Tuareg to be integrated into the military. This issue is a difficult one over which the two sides are unable to agree.

May 6, 1994

Some one hundred students attack the offices of the French Development Fund in Bamako, destroying 11 vehicles and breaking windows. The attack follows publication of a letter from an unknown resistance group threatening to attack the interests of Mali's principal bilateral donors France, Germany, and the United States.

May 11, 1994

Oumar Mariko, former president of AEEM, the student association, and socialist agitator, is arrested in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, and repatriated on

May 12 for attempting to set up a leftist African youth organization.

May 12, 1994

In three attacks on Gao, Tuareg dissidents kill six and wound several people.

May 15, 1994

At a meeting in Algiers, MFUA and government representatives agree to give a fresh impetus to the 1992 National Pact. The government agrees to integrate 1,500 fighters into the armed forces and 4,860 into the civil service. A tripartite committee is set up to oversee the implementation of the plan. Algeria agrees to remove and dismantle MFUA military bases in northern Mali.

May 1994

Some Songhay in northern Mali form a militia movement called *Ganda Koi* (masters of the Land) to protect themselves from continuing Tuareg attacks.

May 1994

Six former Traoré government ministers and/or UDPM officers are released on bail after paying a total of 16 million CFA francs in bail. They were held pending trial for economic crimes.

June 1994

The secretary-general of the PDP, Boubacar Karamako Coulibaly, resigns from the party after a dispute with its leadership. Coulibaly decides to remain in the current government, whereas the PDP pulls out.

June 1994

Some 150 Tuareg civilians, including women and children, are killed at Ber near Timbuctoo by a Malian army unit known as the Red Beret Paratroopers. This is the latest of numerous retaliatory killings against

innocent Tuareg civilians by the Malian army. It is in response to an earlier Tuareg attack on Timbuctoo.

June 1994

Some 30 students arrested in violent demonstrations earlier in the year are conditionally released after beginning a hunger strike.

June 16, 1994

Three Tuareg groups recall members integrated into the army. This move signals the failure of the 1992 National Pact.

July 15, 1994

Eighteen people killed by Tuareg rebels in the area of Nampala. The Malian army kills 17 innocent Tuareg civilians in reprisals. The Tuareg attack was launched by members of the FIAA.

July 25, 1994

The Malian minister of defense visits Mauritania



to discuss the transfer in September of 15,000 to 20,000 refugees at the Bassikounou camp in Mauritania. Mauritania sends 1,000 soldiers and tanks to Nema near the Mali border.

Aug. 1994

Continued Tuareg attacks take place in the north. President Konaré tells the nation that these attacks are leading to a virtual state of civil war. At the same time, the government provides arms to black populations to protect themselves against Tuareg attacks.

Aug. 1994

A quadripartite agreement is reached between Mali, Algeria, the U.N. Commission for Refugees, and the International Fund for Agricultural Development for the return of Malian Tuareg refugees in Algeria. The Tuareg support the agreement.

Aug. 22-24, 1994

Two-day conference in Bamako held to discuss the Tuareg issue and subregional security. The conference is attended by the foreign ministers of Algeria, Burkina Faso, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, and Niger. Participants agree upon broad subregional security issues, including measures against arms trafficking. Police arrest four militants of the Songhay movement Ganda-Koi for handing out literature opposing the ministerial meeting.

Sept. 1994

Zahabi Ould Sidi Mohammed, a leader of the FIAA and deputy coordinator of MFUA, calls on the government to disarm black militias by September 20. He warns that if this demand is not met, Tuareg military forces will undertake to disarm the militias in the *cercles* of Ansongo, Douentza, and Tenenkou.

Sept. 1994

The Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa announces that it will start exploitation of gold in the western part of the country.

Sept. 21, 1994

In an address to the nation, President Konaré calls for national unity. He expresses concern that the continued Tuareg armed conflict and the demands of various special interest groups such as students, are a cause of national disunity. On the eve of Mali's 34th anniversary of independence he tells Malians that "there is no free nation, no strong democracy, without reconciliation between the people and their army."

Sept. 28, 1994

Mamadou Lamine Traoré, vice-chairman of ADEMA, resigns from the party three days after he was passed over for the chair. Prime Minister Boubacar Keita was selected as chairman.

Oct. 22, 1994

Tuareg attack the town of Gao, killing 13 and injuring 17. During the attack they fire on a river steamer docked at the pier. There are now some 20,000 Malians who have fled from the Gao Region to the Sanyonyogo refugee camp in Burkina Faso. While condemning the attacks, the government urges calm.

Oct. 22-23, 1994

Two hundred fifty people killed in the Gao region in Tuareg-army clashes. Most deaths occurred at the village of Kel-Essouk, five kilometers from the town of Gao.

Oct. 1994

Cabinet reshuffle. Ag Erlaf, the only Tuareg in the government, is moved from position of Minister of Employment, Civil Service, and Labor to that of Minister of Public Works. Djoukouma Traoré, formerly Minister of Defense, becomes Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Nov. 13, 1994

Malian army seizes a large quantity of arms and important documents at an FIAA base at Hassi Al-Adjad in the Gao region. The arms were seized after a several-hour battle in which 14 Tuareg combatants were killed.

Nov. 1994

The leaders of the FPLA declare that their movement is ready to cooperate with the army in the *cercle* of Menaka. The MPA is doing the same in the *cercle* of Kidal.

Dec. 1994

Prime Minister Ibrahim Boubacar Keita accuses Zahabi Ould Sidi Mohammed, leader of the FIAA, of endangering the April 1992 National Pact. While speaking in Burkina Faso, where the FIAA leader lives, Keita states that Zahabi's followers are primarily responsible for the continuing conflict in the north of the country. In view of the evidence, however, this view is slanted. Reprisal killings of Tuareg civilians by the Malian army play a significant role in fueling further Tuareg attacks.

Jan. 1995

The FPLA, a leading Tuareg movement, calls upon the international community to help find a solution to Mali's problems in the north. The

Malian army is poorly controlled by the government and operates by its own rules in the north. This fuels a continuous cycle of retaliatory killings of Tuareg civilians and Tuareg military attacks.

Jan. 1995

Seven Tuareg insurgents are killed in an attack in the *arrondissement* of Sokolo. They were pursued by Malian army personnel after stealing equipment from a nongovernmental organization.

Jan. 3, 1995

Sambi Touré, editor of the independent weekly *Nouvel Horizon*, is acquitted of charges of defaming and publishing false information about the president. He had been arrested on November 18, 1994, on these charges.

Jan. 13, 1995

The FPLA and Ganda Koi sign an agreement to end hostilities.

Mar. 1, 1995

Cabinet adopts bill permitting dual citizenship.

Mar. 10, 1995

CNID dissidents accuse Mountaga Tall of being a dictator following their suspension from the governing committee.

Apr. 30, 1995

Conference between Tuareg and Songhay militants opens at Aghlal. The Aghlal Accord, signed by both parties, calls for cooperation and a cessation of hostilities. President Konaré praises the accord and calls for more dialogue.

Mar. 17, 1995

Six rebels killed near Koita on the Mauritanian border in a clash with government troops.

May, 1995

The Algerian government announces plans to move 38,000 Malian Tuareg to three new refugee camps. The refugees protest the move and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees expresses concern.

June, 1995

Cholera outbreak occurs in the Mopti region. Some 533 cases and 103 deaths are reported.

## Tables

Table 1		
RULERS OF THE MALI KINGDOM/EMPIRE		
Date	Name	Comments
c. 1230-c. 1260	Soundiata Keita (Mari Djata I)	Founder of Keita dynasty; conquered Sosso.
c. 1260-?	Uli	Son of Soundiata; made pilgrimage to Mecca.
	Wati Khalifa	Son Of Soundiata. Son of Soundiata; deposed because was weak-minded.
c. 1275-?	Abu Bakr	Son of Soundiata's daughter.
c. 1300-?	Sakura	Non-Keita usurper; made pilgrimage to Mecca.
c. 1300	Qu	Restored Keitas to throne; son of Uli.
c. 1301-c. 1317	Mohammed	Son of Qu, grandson of Uli; great- grand- son of Soundiata.
c. 1317-1337	Moussa	Grandson of Soundiata's brother Abu Bakr; made famous pilgrimage to Mecca, 1324-1325.
c. 1337-c. 1341	Magha I	Son of Moussa; may have been deposed and killed by uncle, Souleyman.
c. 1341-c.	Souleyman	Brother of Moussa; was a powerful

1360		ruler; received Ibn Batuta. Mari Djata, son of Magha I, tried to dethrone him in 1352- 1353.
1360	Qasa	Son of Souleyman; challenged by Mari Djata, son of Magha I and grandson of famous Moussa; deposed in civil war.
1360-1374	Mari Djata II	Deposed Qasa in civil war; cruel tyrant.
1374-1387	Moussa II	Power exercised by his <i>Wazir</i> (minister).
1387-1388	Magha II	Brother of Moussa II; son of Mari Djata II.
1388	Sandaki	<i>Wazir</i> (minister); deposed Magha II and married his mother, wife of Mari Djata II.
1390-?	Mahmud	Descendant of Qu and of (Magha III) Mohammed; restored Keitas to throne.

*(table continued on next page.)*



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Table 1 (continued)

### RULERS OF THE MALI KINGDOM/EMPIRE

Following Mahmud, the Keitas continued to rule Mali as kings until the early seventeenth century when Niari Mansa Mamadou died. It was he who attacked the Moroccans in Djenné in 1599 and who also lost the gold fields of Bambouk. After him, the kingdom broke up into *kafu* (chiefdoms). Genealogy adapted from Ibn Khaldun, Delafosse (1912), Levzion (1973), and oral traditions.

Table 2

### RULERS OF SONGHAY

#### ZA DYNASTY

Date	Name	Comments
	Za Alayaman	
	Za Zakoi	
	Za Takoi	
	Za Kou	
	Za Ali Fai	
	Za Biyai-Komai	
	Za Karai	
	Za Yama-Karaouai	
	Za Yama	
	Za Yama Danka Kiba'o	
	Za Koukorai	
	Za Kenken	
1009	Za Kosoi	
	Za Kosoi-Darija	Became Moslem; capital moved from Koukiya (near Bentia) to Gao
	Za Kosoi-Darija	
	Za Hen-Kon-Ouanko-Dam	

Za Bijai-Koi-Kimi  
Za Nintasanai  
Za Biyai-Kaina-Kimba  
Za Kaina-Chinyounbo  
Za Tib  
Za Yama-Da'o  
Za Fadazou  
Za Ali Koro  
Za Bir-Foloko

c.  
1324

Za Yassiboi

Za Douro

Za Zenko-Baro

Songhay submits to rule of  
Mali

Table 2 (*continued*)  
RULERS OF SONGHAY

*ZA DYNASTY*

Date	Name	Comments
	Za Biri-Baro	
	Za Bada	

*SONNI DYNASTY*

1335	Sonni Ali Kolon	Songhay asserts independence from Mali.
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	Sonni Selman-Nari	
	Sonni Ibrahim-Kabai	
	Sonni Otsman-Kanafa	
c. 1375	Sonni Bar-Kaina-Ankabi	City of Gao abandoned.

	Sonni Mousa	
	Sonni Bokar-Zonko	
1400s	Sonni Bokar-Dalla-Boyombo	
	Sonni Mar-Kirai	
	Sonni Mohammed-Da'o	
	Sonni Mohammed-Koukiya	
	Sonni Mohammed-Far	
	Sonni Karbifo	
	Sonni Mar-Far-Kalli-Djimo	
	Sonni Mar-Arkona	
	Sonni Mar-Arandan	
	Sonni Seliman-Dam	
	Sonni Ali	

1465-92	Sonni Ali-Ber	Songhay becomes independent of Mali Empire.
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1492	Sonni Bakari Da'o	
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*ASKIA DYNASTY*

1492-1529	Askia Mohammed	Makes pilgrimage to Mecca in 1495.
1529-31	Askia Moussa	
1531-37	Askia Mohammed Bounkan Kiria	
1537-39	Askia Ismail	
1539-49	Askia Ishaq	
1549-83	Askia Daoud	
1583-86	Askia El Hadj	
1586-88	Askia Mohammed Bani	
1588-91	Askia Ishaq II	Moroccan invasion and conquest of Songhay.
1591-92	Askia Mohammed Gao	
1592-99	Askia Nouh	Ruled in Dendi.

Adapted from the *Tarikh Es Sudan*, *Tarikh El Fettach*, and Delafosse (1912).

Table 3  
BAMBARA KINGS OF SÉGOU

*COULIBALY KINGS*

Date	Name	Comments
c. 1652-c. 1682	Kaladian Coulibaly	
c. 1682-? ?-1712	Souma Coulibaly Fa Sine Coulibaly	
c. 1712-1755	Biton (Mamari) Coulibaly	Founder of Ségou kingdom.
1755-c. 1757	Dikoro Coulibaly	Assassinated.
1757	(Ali) Coulibaly	Assassinated; last Coulibaly king.

*RULE OF TON DJON*

1757-c. 1760	Ton Massa	Usurped throne.
c. 1760-c. 1763	Kaniouba-Niouma	
c. 1763-c. 1766	Kafa-Diougou	

*DIARRA KINGS*

c. 1766-90	N'Golo Diarra	Founder of Diarra dynasty.
1790-92	Nianankoro and Makoro	Half brothers and sons of N'Golo battle for power.
1792-1808	Makoro (Monson)	Refused to receive Mungo Park.
1808-27	Da Monson	
1827-39	Tiefolo	
1839-41	Nienemba	
1841-49	Kerango-Be	
1849-51	Nialouma-Kouma	
1851-54	Massala-Demba	
1854-56	Touroukoro-Mari	Assassinated.
1856-62	Ali	Deposed and executed by El Hadj Omar.
1862-70	Negue-Mari	Ruled at Touna.

1870-78	Nienemba II	Son of Da who ruled at Sambala.
1878	Mamourou	Ruled seven days.
1878-83	Massatoma	Moved to Moribougou.
1883-87	Karamoko	Assassinated.
1887-90	Mari	Restored by French in Ségou, April 11, 1890; last Diarra king.

After Delafosse and Tauxier. There is much confusion about the precise dates of some of the Coulibaly and Diarra kings.

Table 4

## MASSASSI KINGS OF KAARTA

Date	Name	Comments
c. 1633	Sounsa	
1650-1710	Massa	War with Ségou.
1710-45	Benefali	Wars with Ségou.
1745-54	Foulakoro	
1754-58	Sey Bamana	Founded Second Kaarta kingdom.
1758-61	Doni Babo	
1761-80	Sira Bo	
1788-99	Desse Koro	War with Ségou.
1799-1808	Moussa Kourabo	Khassonke conquered.
1808-11	Tequinn Koro	
1811-15	Sakhaba	
1818-32	Bodian Moriba	Kaarta reaches its zenith.
1832-44	Garan	
1844-54	Mamady Kandian	Conquered by El Hadj Omar.

Table 5

## RULERS OF THE PEUL OF MACINA

*DIALLO DYNASTY*

Date	Name	Comments
c. 1400-04	Maga Diallo	Founded Diallo dynasty.
1404-24	Ibrahim	
1424-33	Alioun	
1433-66	Kanta	
1466-80	Alioun II	
1480-1510	Nia	Macina annexed by Songhay in 1494.
1510-39	Soudi	

1539-40	Ilo	Civil war.
1540-43	Hamadou-Siré	Removed by Askia Ishaq I.
1543-44	Hamadou-Pullo	
1544-51	Boubou-Ilo	Revolt of Peul of Nampala.
1551-59	Ibrahim-Boyé	
1559-83	Boubou Mariama	Rebelled against Songhay.
1583-1603	Hamadou-Amina	Moroccan invasion of western Sudan.
1603-13	Boubou-Aissata	
1613-25	Ibrahim-Boyé	
1625-27	Silamaga-Aissata	
1627-63	Hamadou-Amina II	Revolted against Moroccans.
1663-73	Alioun III	Moroccans reassert control.



Table 5 (*continued*)

## RULERS OF THE PEUL OF MACINA

*DIALLO DYNASTY*

Date	Name	Comments
1673-75	Gallo-Haoua	
1675-96	Gourori	
1696-1706	Gueladio	
1706-61	Guidado	
1761-80	Hamadou-Amina III	
1780-1801	Ya-Gallo	
1801-10	Hamadi-Diko	

*BARI DYNASTY*

1810-44	Cheikou Amadou	Overthrew Diallo dynasty; founded a theocratic state.
1844-52	Amadou Cheikou	Abdicated.
1852-62	Amadou Amadou	Overthrown by Tukulor.

*TALL DYNASTY*

1862-87	El Hadj Omar Tall	Overthrew Bari dynasty.
1862-87	Tijani	
1887-88	Tapsirou	
1888-93	Muniru	
1893-1902	Aguibu	Former emir of Dinkiray who cooperated with the French.

Table 6

GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF FRENCH WEST AFRICA,  
1895-1960

The decree of June 16, 1895, created the Government General of French West

Africa consisting of French Guinea, French Soudan, Ivory Coast, and Senegal. The

governor-general also served as lieutenant governor of Senegal

until 1902, when

Senegal was reconstituted as a colony. Dahomey joined in

1899; the military terri-

tories of Upper Senegal-Niger, Niger, and Mauritania joined on

October 18, 1904.

#### *GOVERNORS-GENERAL*

Date	Name
------	------

1895-	Jean-Bapiste-Emile-Louis Barthélemy Chaudie
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1900	(inspector general of the Colonies).
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1900-02	Noel-Eugene-Victor Ballay (governor first class; former lieutenant governor of French Guinea).
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1902-08	Ernest Nestor Roume (councilor-of-state on extraordinary service; director at the Ministry of Colonies).
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*(table continued on next page.)*

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Table 6 (continued)

GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF FRENCH WEST AFRICA,  
1895-1960

*GOVERNORS-GENERAL*

Date Name

- 1908- Amédée Guillaume Merlaud-Ponty (governor second  
16 class;  
former lieutenant governor of Upper Senegal-Niger).
- 1916- Marie-François-Joseph Clozel (governor second class,  
17 later  
first class).
- 1917- Joost Van Vollenhoven (governor first class, served May  
18  
December 1917 and then enlisted for active duty).
- 1917 Jules Gaston Henri Carde (served as interim for Van  
Vollenhoven).
- 1918- Gabriel Louis Angoulvant (governor-general of AEF,  
19  
responsible for both AEF and AOF until Merlin's  
arrival).
- 1918 Martial Henri Merlin (governor-general of Madagascar,  
appointed governor-general of AOF but did not assume  
post until September 1919).
- 1919- Martial Henri-Merlin.  
23
- 1923- Jules Gaston Henri Carde (governor first class).  
30
- 1930- Jules Brévié (governor first class).  
36
- 1936- Jules-Marcel de Coppet (governor second class,  
40 represented by  
interims: Joseph Vadier [1936], Léon Gusmar [1938],  
Pierre-

Francois Boisson [1938]).

1940 Léon-Henri-Charles Cayla (governor-general of  
Madagascar).

A decree of June 25, 1940, created a High Commission of  
French Africa having  
authority over AOF, AEF, and the mandated territories of  
Cameroons and Togo.

#### *HIGH COMMISSIONERS*

1940- Pierre-François Boisson (governor-general of AEF,  
43 named high  
commissioner of French Africa).

1943- Pierre-Charles-Albert Coumarie.  
46

1946- René-Victor-Marie Barthes (inspector general of the  
48 colonies  
named high commissioner of the republic serving as  
governor-  
general).

1948- Paul-Léon-Albin Bechard (temporarily appointed high  
51  
commissioner serving as governor-general).

1951- Bernard Cornut-Gentile (high commissioner of the  
56 Republic in  
AEF, named the same for AOF).

1956- Gaston Cusin (inspector-general of the National  
58 Economy  
named high commissioner of the republic for AOF).

1958- Pierre-Auguste-Joseph Messmer (governor second class  
59 named  
high commissioner of the Republic for AOF).

Adapted from *L'Encyclopedie Coloniale et Maritime: Afrique  
Occidentale Francaise*, pp.

vii-ix; *Historical Dictionary of Senegal* by Lucie G. Colvin,  
1981, pp. 93-98; and *Colo-  
nial Governors from the Fifteenth Century to the Present* by  
David P. Henige, 1970, p. 32.



Table 7

## ADMINISTRATORS OF THE FRENCH SOUDAN, 1880-1960

The Colony was known by several different names:

1880-90	Upper River (Haut-Fleuve)
1890-99	French Soudan (Soudan Francais)
1899-1902	Upper Senegal-Middle Niger (Haut-Sénégal Moyen Niger)
1902-04	Senegambia-Niger
1904-20	Upper Senegal-Niger (Haut-Sénégal-Niger)
1920-58	French Soudan (Soudan Français)
1958-60	Republique Soudanaise (Sudanese Republic)
1960	Republique du Mali (Republic of Mali)

*COMMANDANTS-SUPERIEURS*

Date	Name
1880-83	Gustave Borgnis-Desbordes
1883-84	Charles Emile Boilève
1884-85	Antoine Vincent Auguste Combes
1885-86	Henri Nicolas Frey
1886-88	Joseph Simon Galliéni
1888-91	Louis Archinard
1891-92	Pierre Marie Gustave Humbert

*LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS*

1892-93	Louis Archinard
1893-95	Louis Albert Grodet
1895-98	Louis Edgard de Trentinian
1898	Marie Michel Alexandre-René Audéoud
1898-99	Louis Edgard de Trentinian

*DELEGATE*

1899-1904	Amédée Guillaume Merlaud-Ponty
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*LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS*

1904-08	Amédée Guillaume Merlaud-Ponty
1908-15	Marie François Joseph Clozel
1915-18	Raphael Valentin Marius Antonetti
1918-19	Auguste Charles Désire Emanuel Brunet
1919-24	Marcel Archille Henry Raymond Olivier

1924-31	Jean Henri Terrasson de Fougères
1931-35	Louis Jacques Eugène Fousset
1935-36	Matthieu Maurice Alfassa
1936-37	Ferdinand Jacques Louis Rougier

*(table continued on next page.)*

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Table 7 (continued)

ADMINISTRATORS OF THE FRENCH SOUDAN, 1880-1960

GOVERNORS

1937-38	Ferdinand Jacques Louis Rougier
1938-40	Jean-Hyacinthe Desanti
1940-42	Jean Alexandre Léon Rapenne
1942-46	Auguste Maurice Léon Calvel
1946-52	Edmond Jean Louveau
1952	Camille Victor Bailly
1952-53	Salvador Jean Etcheber
1953	Albert Jean Mouragues
1953-56	Lucien Eugène Geay
1956-58	Henri Marie Joseph Gipuolon

HIGH COMMISSIONER

1959-60	Jean Charles Sicurani
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Adapted from the National Archives, Bamako (Koulouba), Republic of Mali, and from *Colonial Governors from the Fifteenth Century to the Present* by David P. Henige, 1970, pp. 31-32.

Table 8

COMPOSITION OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE OF  
NATIONAL LIBERATION, MALI,  
November 19, 1968-June 28, 1979

Name	Position in 1968	Comments
Moussa Traoré	President	Head of the UDPM Central Executive Committee and president after 1979.
Yoro Diakité	First Vice President	Arrested 1971.
Baba Diarra	Second Vice President	Became member of UDPM Central Executive



Filifing Sissoko	Permanent Secretary	Committee in 1979. Became member of UDPM
Youssouf Traoré	Ombudsman	Central Committee in 1979. Central Executive Committee in 1979.
Malik Diallo	Member	Arrested in 1971.
Mamadou Sissoko	Member	Died in auto accident in 1969.
Charles Samba Sissoko	Member	Arrested in 1978.
Joseph Mara	Member	Arrested in 1978.
Missa Koné	Member	Retired in 1979.
Mamadou Sanogo	Member	Retired in 1979.
Karim Dembélé	Member	Arrested in 1978.
Kissima Doukara	Member	Arrested in 1978.
Tiekoro Bagayoko	Member	Arrested in 1978.

Table 9

THE MILITARY COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL  
LIBERATION, MALI, June 29, 1979

Name	Position
Major General Moussa Traoré	President
Colonel Baba Diarra	Vice President
Colonel Filifing Sissoko	Permanent Secretary
Colonel Youssouf Traoré	Ombudsman
Colonel Missa Koné	Member
Colonel Mamadou Sanogo	Member

Table 10

COMPOSITION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY  
FOLLOWING THE 1992 ELECTIONS

Party	Seats
Alliance Pour La Démocratie au Mali (ADEMA)	76
Congrès National d'Initiative Démocratique (CNID)	9
Union Soudanaise-RDA (US-RDA)	8
Parti Malien Pour Le Développement (PMD)	6
Rassemblement Pour La Démocratie et Le Progrès (RDP)	4
Union Pour La Démocratie et Le Développement (UDD)	4
Union des Forces Démocratiques Pour Le Progrès (MFDP)	3
Rassemblement Pour La Démocratie et Le Travail (RDT)	3
Parti Pour La Démocratie et Le Progrès (PDP)	2
Union Malienne Pour La Démocratie et Le Développement (UMDD)	1
TOTAL	116*

\*An additional 13 deputies were later elected to represent Malians living abroad.

Table 11

POPULATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALI BY REGION,  
1994

Region	Population
Gao	320,000
Kayes	1,200,000
Kidal	75,000
Koulikoro	1,250,000
Mopti	1,300,000
Ségou	1,350,000
Sikasso	1,400,000
Timbuctoo	500,000
Bamako District	600,000
City of Bamako	800,000
Total	8,795,000

Table 12  
MID-YEAR POPULATION ESTIMATES (1950-2050) AND  
AVERAGE PERIOD GROWTH RATES (1950-2000),  
REPUBLIC OF MALI

Year Population* (projected estimates)	Year Population*	Period	Average Annual Growth Rates**
1950 3,776	1977	6,473 1950-55	1.8
1955 4,143	1978	6,616	
1960 4,559	1979	6,762 1955-60	1.9
1965 5,035	1980	6,914	
1970 5,578	1981	7,069 1960-65	2.0
1972 5,816	1982	7,228	
1973 5,940	1983	7,393 1965-70	2.1
1974 6,068	1984	7,562	
1975 6,200	1985	7,735 1970-75	2.1
1976 6,334	1986	7,913	
	1990	8,160	
	2000	11,230 1975-80	2.2
	2050	27,910 1980-85	2.3
		1985-90	2.3
		1990-95	2.3
		1995-2000	2.8

\*Population in thousands

\*\*Rate or percent

Sources: Bureau Central de Recensement, 1980. *Recensement Général de la Population Décembre 1976. Resultats Definitifs*. Vol. I. *Série Population et Socio-Démographique*. Bamako.

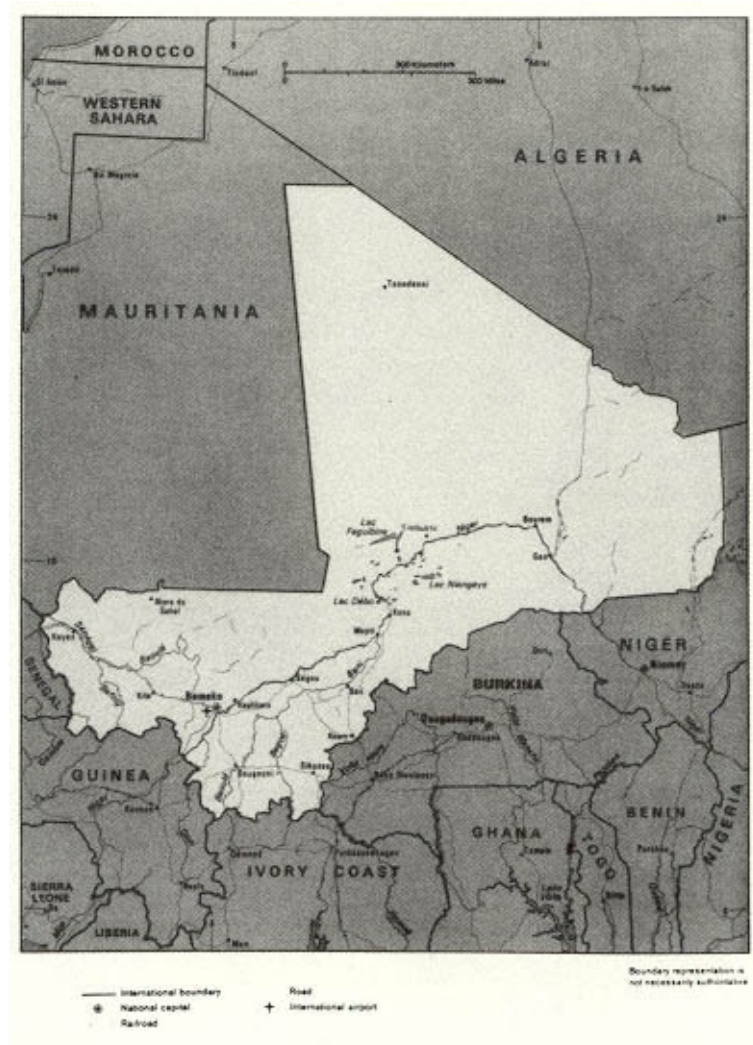
\_\_\_\_\_. 1980. *Recensement Général de la Population Décembre 1976. Resultats Definitifs*. Vol. II, *Série Economique*. Bamako.

Service de la Statistique and France INSEE, Service de

Coopération. *Enquete Démographique au Mali*, 1960-61. [Paris].  
*Population Growth and Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa*.  
Washington, D.C. The World  
Bank, 1986.

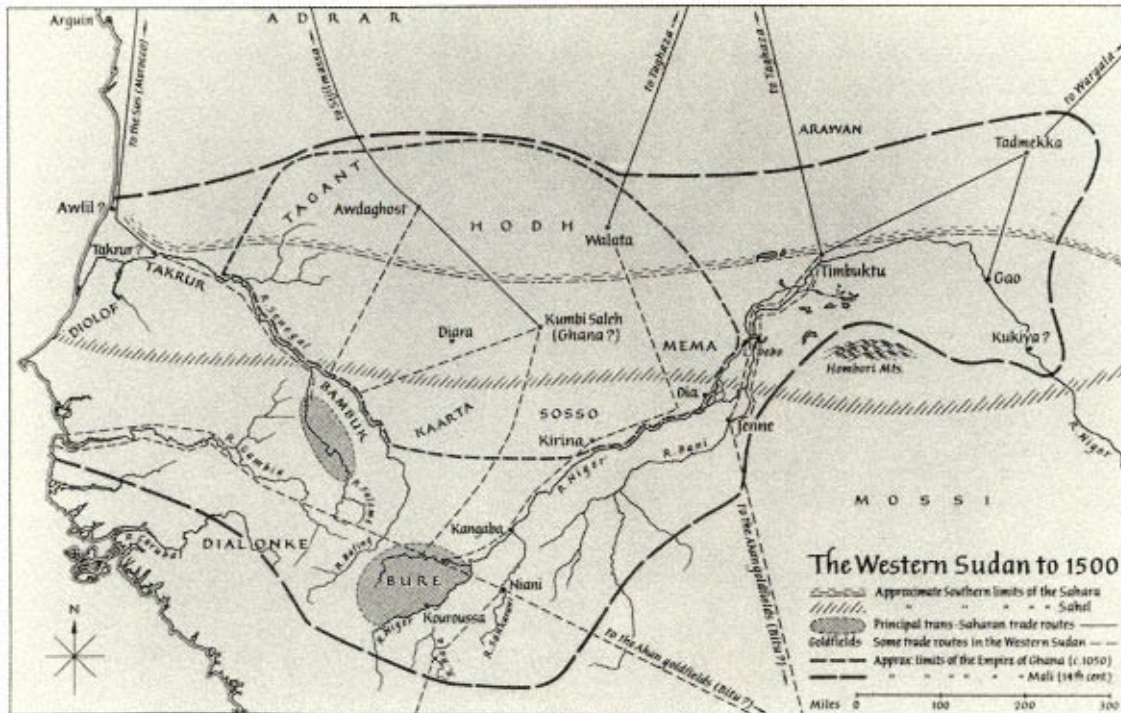
# Maps

## Mali



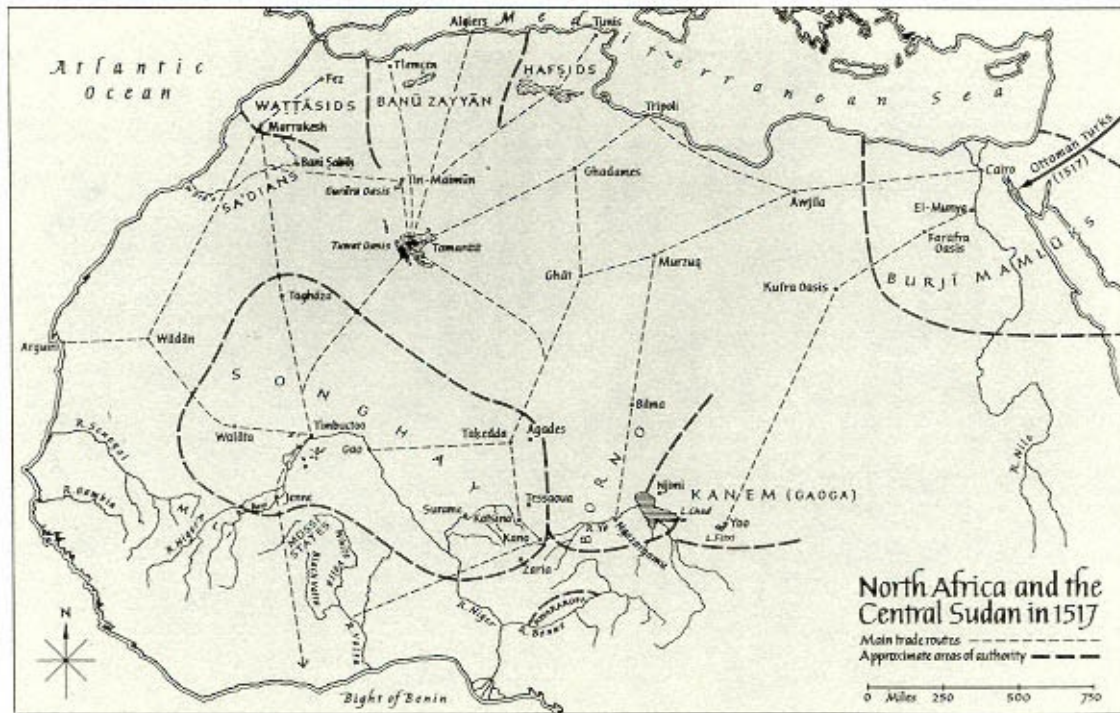
Map 1.  
Mali.

## The Western Sudan to 1500



Map 2.  
The Western Sudan to 1500.

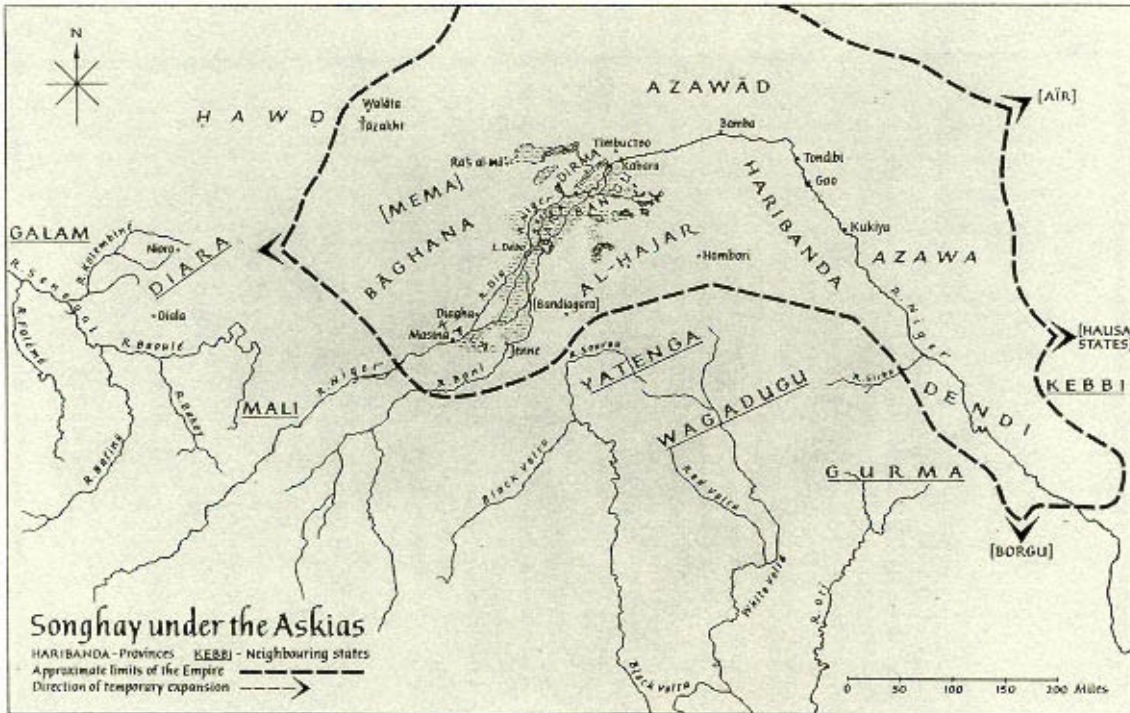
## North Africa and the Central Sudan in 1517



Map 3.  
North Africa and the Central Sudan in 1517.

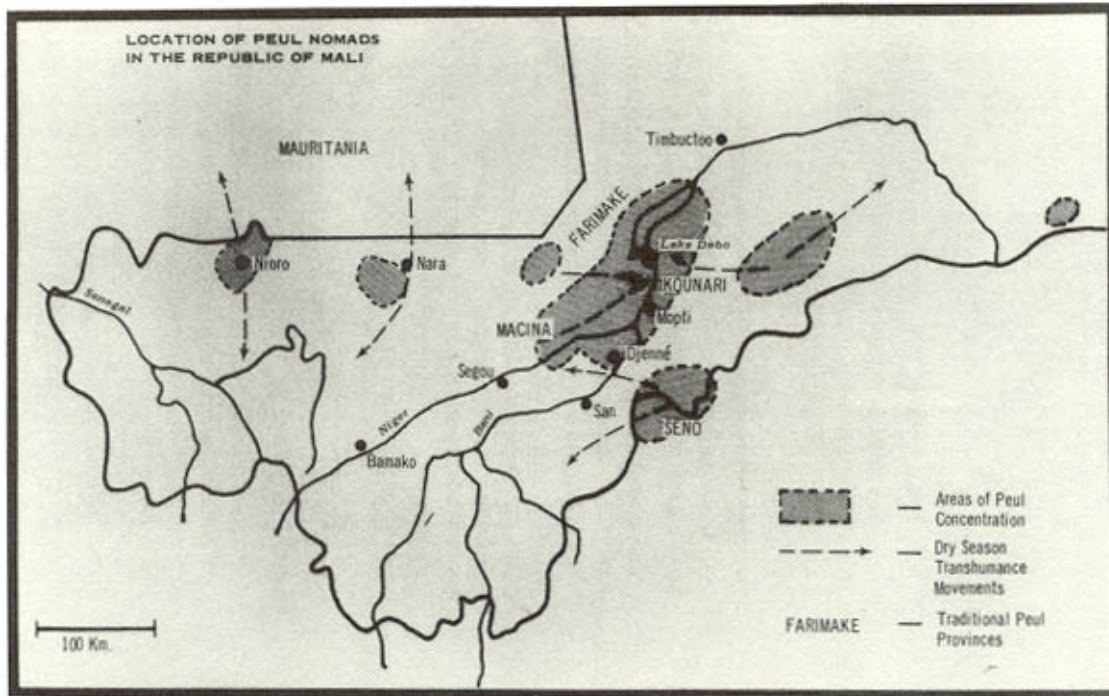


## Songhay under the Askias



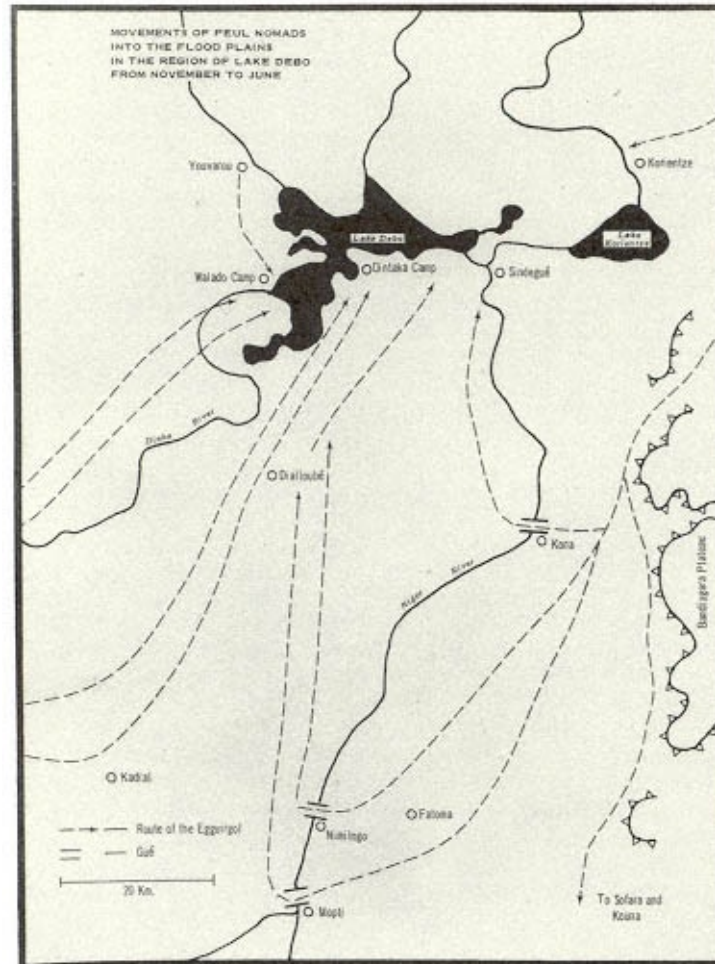
Map 4.  
Songhay under the Askias.

## Location of Peul Nomads



Map 5.  
Location of Peul Nomads.

## Movements of Peul Nomads



Map 6.  
Movements of Peul Nomads into the flood plains in the region  
of Lake Debo from November to June.

## Introduction

The Republic of Mali is a landlocked country situated in the heart of West Africa. It covers an area of 464,873 square miles (1,240,000 square kilometers), sharing common borders with Mauritania and Senegal in the west, Algeria in the north, Guinea and Ivory Coast in the south, and Burkina Faso and Niger in the east. Mali's present borders are the legacy of 68 years of French colonial rule, during which time a number of sizable changes were made in the country's frontiers. From 1890 to 1899, what is now Mali was known as the Soudan Français (French Sudan). Then, from 1899 to 1904, the French Sudan was administratively merged with what is now Senegal and parts of present-day Mauritania, Niger, and Burkina Faso. This large territory was called SÉNÉGAMBIE ET NIGER. As part of the administrative reorganization, three large districts of the French Sudan, Dinguiray, Siguri, Kouroussa, and Kankan were transferred to the colony of French Guinea. In 1904, Mali and parts of present-day Niger, Mauritania, and Burkina Faso were renamed the Haut-Sénégal et Niger, a name which remained until 1920. From 1920 to 1959, Mali was again known as the French Sudan. Its frontiers were again altered in 1947 when districts were given to the newly re-created colony of Upper Volta and to Mauritania.

In 1959, French Sudan opted for internal autonomy within the French Community and became known as the République Soudanaise (Sudanese Republic). Along with Senegal, the Sudanese Republic formed a federation known as the Federation du Mali (Mali Federation), taking its name from the Manding empire of Mali which flourished between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries around the headwaters of the Niger River. The Mali Federation was given its

independence from France on June 30, 1960, but broke apart on August 20, 1960, because of serious political differences that existed between Senegal and the Sudanese Republic. On September 22, 1960, the Sudanese Republic declared itself independent and took for itself the name Republic of Mali ("République du Mali" in French).

Mali's total population is about nine million, but there are another estimated two million Malian nationals living in adjacent African states and in Europe. The national capital is Bamako (accented on the first two syllables), which is situated on the banks of the Niger River. The country is

primarily agricultural, most of its population consisting of subsistence farmers and, to a lesser extent, herdsmen. The population is concentrated in the southern parts of the country, which are traversed by the Senegal and Niger river basins. The northern half of Mali lies within the Sahara Desert and is sparsely inhabited by Maure and Tuareg nomads. Although there has been some minimal industrial development, the country is still among the poorest in the world. The average annual budget of the government of Mali in recent years has been about \$900 million. Because of its physical location, the country has, for centuries, been a commercial and cultural crossroads between West and North Africa.

### Early History

Mali is the heir to a number of early African empires and kingdoms that flourished between the ninth and nineteenth centuries. The earliest of these was the Ghana empire, a federation of kingdoms that covered, primarily, what is now northwestern Mali and parts of present-day Mauritania. The empire, whose capital was Koumbi Saleh (in southern Mauritania near the Mali border), lasted from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, but reached its height about A.D. 1000. The Mali empire (twelfth to seventeenth centuries) was born out of a small kingdom situated at the headwaters of the upper Niger. The empire's founder, Sundiata Keita, who ruled from about 1230 to 1260, extended the kingdom's frontiers to encompass most of the western part of present-day Mali. The empire reached its peak in the middle of the fourteenth century under Kankan Moussa (Mansa Moussa [or Musa]), the famous emperor who made an overland pilgrimage to Mecca via the Sahara and Egypt in 1324 and 1325. Under him the borders of the Mali empire were extended to cover much of present-day Mali, Senegal, Gambia, and parts of Mauritania. The empire went into decline in the fifteenth century.

The Songhay empire of Gao (1335-1591) developed in the extreme eastern part of present-day Mali among the Songhay people. Eventually, it extended over much of present-day Mali and parts of Niger and Burkina Faso, reaching its peak under two famous emperors, Sonni Ali Ber (who ruled from 1465 to 1492) and Askia Mohammed (who ruled from 1492 to 1529). The empire was effectively destroyed by a Moroccan invasion in 1591.

Over the centuries, small but culturally and commercially important city-states formed, notably Djenné in 300 B.C. and Timbuctoo in the twelfth century A.D. Timbuctoo, founded along the left bank of the Niger as a seasonal Tuareg nomad camp, became a thriving commercial and cultural center by the fourteenth century. It passed successively under the domination of the Manding empire of Mali, the Songhay empire, the Moroccans, Tuareg, Bambara, and Peul. Moroccan domination and con-



trol of political events in the western Sudan, the area occupied mostly by Mali, did not last for more than a century. A number of strong kingdoms developed in the central part of Mali, notably the Peul kingdom of Macina (1400-1862), the Bambara kingdom of Ségou (1600-1862), and the Bambara kingdom of Kaarta (1633-1854). In 1810, a Moslem teacher, Cheikou Amadou, overthrew the ruling Peul dynasty of Macina and established a theocratic state in central Mali known as the Peul empire of Macina. The Senufo kingdom of KénéDougou developed in southern Mali in the seventeenth century and lasted until 1898 when its capital, Sikasso, was taken by the French. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Samory Touré, an *imam* warrior, established political control over much of southern Mali as well as over large areas of adjacent states. He was captured by the French in 1898 and exiled to Gabon. Political events in the second half of the nineteenth century in Mali were dominated by the development and extension of the Tukulor empire and gradual French penetration of the region. Eventual French annexation of what is now Mali was the result of several decades of diplomatic maneuvering and military confrontation with indigenous political states, especially the Tukulor empire founded by El Hadj Omar Tall. In 1852, he launched *a jihad*, or religious war, from his base at Dinguiray in present-day Guinea. To El Hadj Omar, the Tijaniya brotherhood represented a purer form of Islam, to which he sought to convert the populations of the western Sudan.

In 1854, El Hadj Omar conquered the Bambara kingdom of Kaarta, then Ségou (1862), and finally Macina (1862). When he died in 1864, his son Amadou succeeded him, but demonstrated less effective control over the Tukulor empire than his father had. Amadou ruled from Ségou from 1864 until 1892 when he was driven out by the French, under General Archinard. Another son of El Hadj Omar,



Muntaga, succeeded his father in Kaarta, and a nephew, Tijani, ruled over the former Peul empire of Macina. Neither fully recognized Amadou's supremacy.

### Topography

The topography of Mali is generally flat, the land consisting of plains and plateaus. The southern part of the country is hilly, being covered by extensions of the Futa Djallon highlands of Guinea. The Manding Mountains, which rise between 1,000 and 1,500 feet above sea level, extend from the Guinea-Mali border to 50 miles east of Bamako. They are composed of sandstone and eroded cliff formations through which many affluents of the Senegal and Niger rivers cut a course. The highest peak in the southern part of Mali is Mt. Mina (1,739 feet). The eastern part of the country is quite flat except for the Bandiagara plateau and cliffs. The latter, which run from southwest to northeast for some 150 miles, reach a

height of 1,200 feet and are among the most spectacular land formations in West Africa. To the east of these land formations are found the magnificent Hombori Mountains, which consist of isolated sandstone mesas, some of which rise to over 3,000 feet. The more important of these are Gandamia, an enormous stone mountain which lies between the villages of Douentza and Hombori; the Hand of Fatima; and Hombori Tondo, the highest point in Mali (3,773 feet). The southwestern portion of Mali in the *cercle* of Kenieba is accented by the Tambaoura escarpment.

In the eastern part of the country, the only marked relief is found along the banks of the Niger River after it makes its great bend to the southeast at Bourem. This relief consists of tall riverine sand dunes, laterite hills and, near Ansongo, several spectacular rocky pillars. The Adrar des Iforas is an eroded sandstone plateau in northeastern Mali in the *région* of Kidal. A part of the Hoggar mountain system of the Sahara, the plateau rises 1,600 feet.

The central part of Mali is covered by the flood plains of the inland delta of the Niger, which comprise a total surface area of nearly 40,000 square miles. Northern Mali lies within the Sahara. In the extreme north are vast plains known as the Tanezrouft and Taoudeni, which are covered in many areas by sand dunes and shifting sands known as *ergs*. The salt mines at Taoudeni, which have been worked since the sixteenth century, still provide Mali with much of its salt. Before reaching its destination, Timbuctoo, the salt is carried down by camel caravans and truck convoys across approximately 440 miles of the Sahara.

## River Systems

Mali is traversed by the Senegal and Niger rivers and their tributaries. The Senegal River is formed at the small town of Bafoulabé, where

the Bafing and Bakoye rivers converge. It flows for 560 miles in a northwesterly direction into neighboring Senegal and Mauritania and then into the Atlantic Ocean. Its course is broken in Mali first by the Gouina Falls and then, near the town of Kayes, by the Felou Falls. The river rises between the months of July and October and is low in April and May, which is the end of the dry season.

The Niger River traverses Mali for 1,010 miles, a third of its total length. The river rises in the highlands of Guinea and Sierra Leone and flows into Mali in a northeasterly direction. Just beyond Bamako, its flow is broken by cataracts at Sotuba. But a few miles beyond at Koulikoro, it spreads out into a broad flat valley. Beyond the town of Ségou, the Niger forms a vast inland delta and then, at Mopti, receives its main tributary, the Bani River.

Beyond Mopti, the river breaks up into two major channels, the Bara Issa and the Issa Ber; it also flows into a number of smaller branches.

These spread out over the flat flood plains to form a number of shallow seasonal lakes: Debo, Fati, Teli, Korientzé, Tanda, Niangaye, Do, Garou, Aougoundou, and several others. Just above Diré, the two main branches join again, and the river then flows past Kabara, the port of Timbuctoo. Beyond Kabara, the river changes from a northeasterly to an easterly direction until it reaches Bourem, where it makes its great bend toward the southeast. It then flows past Gao and Ansongo and into the Niger Republic just beyond Labezanga where its progress is broken by a series of cataracts.

During the rainy season, the Niger River rises. The upper Niger crests in August the crest reaching the inland delta in September and the Niger Bend by December. During the high water periods August to January the river, from Koulikoro and Gao, is navigable in Mali for large craft.

## Climate

In terms of both climate and vegetation, Mali can be divided into three zones. The southern Sudanic climate zone extends up to 15° north latitude. It receives from 20 to 60 inches of rainfall per year, the heavier falls occurring in the more southerly areas of the zone. In the southern Sudanic zone, average temperatures vary from 75°F to 95°F. Above the Sudanic climate zone is the Sahel, whose southern portions receive about 20 inches of rain per year and whose northern areas receive about seven inches. Temperatures vary from 80°F to 100°F. To the north of the Sahel is the Sahara climate zone where temperatures range from 120°F to 140°F. Rain in the Sahara is sporadic and scanty.

In all three zones, the climate is hot and dry; however, two major seasons do exist. The dry season, which extends from November to June, is characterized especially from April through June by progressively rising temperatures. From November through January,

the *alize* wind blows cool air from the northeast; these winds cause a brief cool spell that drops temperature to 70°F. In February, the *harmattan* land wind blows hot dry air out of the Sahara, this condition continuing on into June. During this period, temperatures in the Sudanic zone and Sahel rise to a daily average of 105°F.

The rainy season begins in mid-June when a monsoon wind blows from the southwest, bringing with it considerable moisture. The rainy season is characterized by a beginning and an end, during which time severe thunderstorms, accompanied by much wind, are common. Most of the rain falls during July and August, usually three or four times a week. Rarely does rain last for more than a few days. The rainy season is fairly cool but humid. When the rains end in October, the climate becomes warm once more and is uncomfortably humid until the cool *alize* winds again begin to blow.

## Vegetation and Fauna

The southern part of Mali lies within the Sudanic vegetation zone, which is characterized by riverine forest galleries and wooded savannas. The most common trees in this zone include *Parkia biglobosa* (two-ball nitta tree), *Butyrospermum parkii* (shea butter tree), *Khaya senegalensis* (caicedra tree), and *Ceiba pentandra* (silk cotton tree). Mango trees (*Mangifera indica*) were introduced early on by the French and are found primarily in the western part of the country. They are gradually appearing in more eastwardly locations, however, as people plant them around villages. The Sahel is characterized by sparse vegetation, which consists primarily of trees resistant to desiccation. Its southern sections are accented by *Adansonia digitata* (baobab tree), *Hyphaene thebaica* (doum palm), *Acacia albida* (acacia thorn tree), and cram-cram grass. Northward in the Sahel, small, thorny acacia and mimosa species dominate. These finally disappear as one enters the Sahara zone.

Wildlife once abounded in Mali. Mungo Park, the famous eighteenth-century Scottish explorer who was the first European ever to visit central Mali, described elephants around Bamako and lions near Ségou. These animals are now extinct in these regions. The expanding human population, and the ever-increasing requirements of shifting patterns of cultivation, coupled with lack of enforcement of game protection laws and rampant poaching by Europeans and Africans alike, have resulted, in most areas, in the disappearance of most of Mali's large herbivores and carnivores. Lions are still present in small numbers in the Niger Bend, on the Bandiagara plateau, and in western Mali around the Falémé River region in the *cercle* of Kéniéba. They are also found in the Baoulé River forest galleries. Elephants (several hundred) are now found only in the Niger Bend in the *cercles* of Douentza and Gourma Rharous. Giraffes can still be seen along the

left bank of the Niger in the *cercles* of Bourem, Gao, and Ansongo, though their numbers have greatly fallen in recent years because of recurrent droughts. Roan antelopes are present in several scattered areas of the country, as are a number of other kinds of antelopes. Hippopotami, found in both the Bani and Niger rivers, are especially common in the Niger just above Bamako, in the inland delta, and near Labezanga. Numerous species of birds, including ostrich, are especially prevalent in the inland delta and at the Niger Bend. A number of birds are seasonal migrants from Europe. Significant conservation efforts, supported by outside donors, have been directed at dealing with environmental degradation in the inland delta. This degradation, plus the killing of birds by local people, are of serious concern to conservationists. There are two national game reserves in Mali the Parc National de la Boucle de Baoulé in the west and the Menaka Reserve in the east. Legitimate hunting (also poaching) occurs in both areas.

## Soils and Mineral Deposits

Except in certain limited areas, Mali's soil is generally poor. The southern part of the country is covered, for the most part, by ferruginous (iron-containing) soils; the inland delta contains vast stretches of gray-colored clay. The soil of the inland delta is not enriched much by the seasonal flooding of the Niger River. In the north the sands of the desert are interrupted by large areas of gravel and stone.

Mali has some mineral deposits, but they are relatively small compared to those of other African states. The location of some deposits in remote geographic areas makes their exploitation uneconomical at the present time. In the western part of the country, there is an estimated 700 million tons of bauxite, principally in the *région* of Kayes. The bauxite is found in a vein which represents a continuation of the large deposits located in neighboring Guinea. A phosphate deposit of about 20 million tons can be found in the Gao *région*. Although this deposit was discovered during the colonial era, it was not exploited until recently because of its remoteness. At present, 2,000 tons are being mined annually to supply a fertilizer plant; it is hoped that, one day, annual production will rise to 240,000 tons. Mali has an estimated manganese deposit of 35 million tons. Scattered deposits of lithium can be found in the *cercles* of Kayes and Bougouni. A sizable marble deposit at Bafoulabé has been quarried to meet local needs. Small, scattered deposits of tin, copper, lead, tungsten, and zinc exist. A large limestone deposit at Diamou, in the *région* of Kayes, is being used to supply a factory in the area that was built with Soviet assistance.

Beginning in 1961, the Société Nationale de Recherches Minières (SONAREM) with help from the former Soviet Union conducted



geological surveys throughout the country. Lithium has been found between Kayes and Kita; uranium, in the Adrar des Iforas. In the 1970s, Texaco completed a survey of the northern part of the country during its search for oil deposits.

In the extreme north at Taoudeni, salt deposits are still actively mined, producing about 3,000 tons per year. Gold deposits in the Southwest Kénédougou, Kangaba, and Yanfolila have been mined for centuries, thus giving rise to the ancient Mali empire's reputation as a place rich in this metal. Indeed, the emperor Kankan Moussa deposited so much gold in the Cairo market on his way to Mecca in the fourteenth century that the price in Cairo fell precipitously. In recent years, SONAREM (with assistance first from the former Soviet Union, and more recently from American and Canadian companies) has conducted extensive studies of the gold deposits in the Bambouk, an area in southwestern Mali. In 1984, production of both gold and silver began, with Soviet assistance, at the Kalana deposit. In 1990, a joint venture company with U.S. interests

began to exploit gold at Syama in southern Mali. Projected outputs were 2,200 kg per year by 1994, and 3,700 kg per year by 1996. A joint Malian-French company began exploiting gold at Loulo in 1990 hoping for 800 kg per year. West German and Japanese firms have signed contracts for the exploitation of radioactive materials.

### Agricultural Resources

The basis of Mali's economy is agriculture. Almost 90% of the population practices subsistence agriculture. The major food crops are millet, sorghum, corn, rice and, to a lesser extent, yams and cassava. Following the famine of the early 1970s, the production of millet and sorghum rose to approximately 950,000 tons and 350,000 tons, respectively, in 1977. However, annual production gradually fell from 1979 through 1981, partially due to drought and partially because of government agricultural policies that provided no incentives for peasant farmers. In 1980, the combined production of millet, sorghum, and corn amounted to 770,000 tons. By 1982, this total had risen to about 1,000,000 tons. However, by 1985, a combination of drought and a failure to increase production in areas of the country not affected by drought led to a continued dependence on food imports and donated food. In 1984, Mali's estimated shortfall of millet, sorghum, and corn was 440,000 metric tons. The 1974-1978 Five-Year Development Plan named food self-sufficiency as one of its objectives, but this objective was not achieved until 1990. Favorable weather conditions and policies that give farmers incentives resulted in a progressive rise in cereal yields through the early 1990s. Millet and sorghum production in 1992 was 2,229,000 tons, rice 330,000, and maize 230,000, a dramatic increase over production levels of a decade earlier.

Because of the negative impact of OPAM (Office des Produits

Agricoles du Mali the state purchasing and marketing agency) on food production, beginning in 1983 the agency's role was greatly reduced; pressure had been brought to bear on the Malian government by bilateral and international donors. As a state agricultural marketing board, OPAM purchased crops at excessively low prices so that the government could retail them to urban populations at little cost. In 1983 and 1984, as Mali's free-market system was being launched, wealthy Malian merchants managed to corner the market, leaving farmers with a poor return for their efforts and no incentive to increase their productivity. Many experts, however, saw this as a temporary setback for Mali's new free-market agriculture, which it was. On March 10, 1985, U.S. Vice President George Bush announced during a visit to Bamako that Mali was first in line for financing under an experimental Reagan Administration program designed to encourage free-market practices. (Some \$24.6 million

was provided to Mali under this program.) Free-market practices for agricultural products are now well established in the country.

The most important commercial crops are cotton, rice, groundnuts, and tobacco. To develop these, the Malian government created state-operated organizations (parastatals) known as *opérations*. Opération Riz, for example, functions in the Mopti area, where it hopes to increase rice production. Opération Coton was developed with the assistance of CFDT (Compagnie Française pour le Développement des Fibres Textiles). Rice projects have been supported in Ségou and Sikasso by international loans that have also assisted Malians in their development of Opération Pêche, in Mopti. Mali's fishery industry, centered in Mopti, was started in the 1960s with aid from the European Development Fund and technical assistance from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. A new port was constructed at this location, as well as a fish canning factory where improvements were made in processing. At present, Mali's annual dried and cured fish production, primarily from the Niger River, is 100,000 metric tons.

Two integrated development projects in the southern part of the country, Opération Haute-Vallée and Mali Sud, have greatly bolstered Mali's annual food production since they are in areas not generally affected by drought. The Office du Niger, the vast irrigation scheme along the middle Niger developed during the 1930s by the French, had continued to function at a loss, despite a succession of aid programs. Poor rainfall and poor management were largely responsible in the 1970s. In 1986, a \$40 million rehabilitation program was initiated, supported by the International Development Association, Germany, the Netherlands, and the European Community. This resulted in an almost doubling of sugar production to 18,000 tons per year in 1988. In that year, an \$84 million program, funded by European donors and the

World Bank, was launched to increase rice production.

Cash crops did well in Mali until the early 1980s, during which time cereal crops made a poor showing. Many critics argued convincingly that the state purchasing and marketing board (OPAM) exerted a negative impact on cereal production. Were drought alone responsible for decreased cereal production, then similar decreases should have been seen with cash crops grown in the same areas. Cotton and groundnut production have fluctuated in response to world prices, development schemes, and the extension of capital. In 1966, Mali produced 16,000 tons of unginned cotton. In 1983, production was at 127,000 tons. A decade later, in 1993, it was 150,000 tons.

Mali is one of the major livestock producers in West Africa. Before the drought of the early 1970s, there were six million cattle and 14 million goats and sheep. The drought of the 1970s reduced these herd sizes by about 30%; by the late 1970s, however, the herds had recovered to

their former levels. The program to rebuild the national herd included, in 1975, a temporary ban on livestock exports. The reappearance of drought in northern Mali in 1984 had a significant impact on livestock herds in the regions of Gao and Timbuctoo. Most livestock production in Mali is in the hands of traditional pastoralists, but beginning in the mid-1970s, attempts were made to establish modern livestock-raising enterprises in central Mali. These have met with only limited success.

## Industry

Industry occupies a minor position in Mali's overall economy, accounting for only 15.4% of the Gross Domestic Product. By 1981, state-owned industrial enterprises (parastatals), first developed when Mali became independent, accounted for 90% of the total industrial output. At that time there were some 30 state companies, employing 15,000 workers. In 1982, these companies recorded losses of 9,800 million Mali francs. The state-owned companies primarily met local needs. They included textile factories the largest being at Ségou, a cement factory in Kayes, a peanut oil and soap factory at Koulikoro, a canning factory at Baguineda, a sugar refinery at Dougabougou, cotton gins in the *cercles* of Ségou and Koutiala, and rice-processing plants in the inland delta. Bamako has a number of industrial plants, including a ceramics factory, match and cigarette factories, a tannery, a brewery, a furniture factory, and a modern abattoir.

During the 1970s, the World Bank provided the parastatals with funds for a management personnel training program, but this program did not bring about increased production output. In fact, output fell by 8% in 1978. In 1982, Mali signed agreements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that called for the dismantling of unprofitable state enterprises and the promotion of private enterprise. This process was implemented slowly during the 1980s because of its obvious

political implications. The process has continued into the 1990s at an accelerated pace as the private sector has grown. In 1985, Air Mali, a prestigious Malian parastatal, was partially turned over to private owners. It was later dissolved, restructured, and then redissolved in 1988. By 1990, thirteen unprofitable parastatals had been disposed of or transferred to private ownership.

In the mid-1970s, electricity in Mali was provided by 10 thermal power stations and by three hydroelectric power stations at Sotuba, Markala, and Felou. Only 45 million kilowatt-hours of electricity were produced. By 1981, this output had been doubled to 91.2 million kilowatt-hours, of which three-quarters was hydroelectric. In late 1982, power production was begun at the Selingué hydroelectric plant located southwest of Bamako on the Sankarani River. This power plant, in ad-

dition to the dam at Selingué, was the largest development project in the country at the time. Selingué has the capacity to produce 44.8 mw. In late 1982, on the Bafing River in western Mali, construction began on the Manantali Dam. The construction of this dam was undertaken as part of the development plan of the OMVS (Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Sénégal) in which Senegal and Mauritania participate. The dam was completed in 1988, and the hydroelectric equipment due to be installed in 1989. However, installation was delayed for about a year because of disagreements over supply routes, and work was suspended in 1989-1990 because of the deterioration of relations between Senegal and Mauritania. Manantali has a capacity to produce 800 mw. It progressively came on line in 1992, but its ability to reach capacity will depend on the volume of water flow. Selingué has often been unable to reach capacity or even supply electricity, as occurred for certain periods in 1989, because of low water levels in its reservoir. Both Selingué and Manantali have freed Mali of the need to import electrical power, and will enable it to electrify other areas of the country. Although progressive electrification of some provincial and district centers has occurred over the years, many still rely on diesel-powered plants.

Despite small gains made in Malian industry and agriculture, by the mid-1990s the country remained one of the poorest in the world; its average annual per capital income is \$260, among the five lowest average annual rates in Africa, and among the 12 lowest in the world. The GNP has been about \$2,109 million in the mid-1990s.

### Development and Finance

Mali has had a series of development plans since the Plan Quinquenal, 1961-1965. These plans included the 1970-1973 Programme Triennial and the 1974-1978 and 1981-1985 development plans. An important



component of the 1974-1978 plan was a restructuring of the banking and financial systems. A significant component of the 1981-1985 plan was increased production. The 1987-1991 plan aimed at a growth in the GDP of 3.4%, which was only narrowly missed. One-third of the funds for this plan went to the rural sector.

In 1960, when Mali became independent, an ambitious capital spending program was adopted. As part of the 1961-1965 development plan, parastatals were established and an annual growth rate of 8% was projected. In reality, Mali's socialist economy was characterized for most of the 1960s by a 2% annual growth rate and an annual increase in administrative spending of 12%. Most parastatals operated with huge losses, and the country ran annual deficits of about 2,400 million Mali francs. The government dealt with this gap by printing money—the amount in circulation doubling between 1960 and 1967.

In 1967, Mali negotiated reentry into the Franc Zone, from which it had withdrawn in 1962. The recovery program, drawn up with French assistance, was implemented in 1970 and known as the Plan Triennal. Reductions in spending were difficult to achieve because 70% of the national budget went to members of the civil service or employees of the parastatals.

Beginning in 1970, Mali became dependent on French budgetary subsidies. By 1973, Malian expenditures had risen well above the ceiling that had been set (33,000 million Mali francs, equal to the country's total expense budget for a year). In 1978, France warned that its ultimate goal was to phase out budgetary subsidies; for that reason, Mali is now maintaining better control of its spending. Nonetheless, between 1977 and 1981, expenditure outlay rose by 14% annually. In fact, during the early 1980s, Mali was running up annual deficits of close to 10,000 million CFA francs. French budgetary subsidies continued during this period.

Mali's economy, development programs, and financial plans have been strongly driven since the 1980s by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In 1981, the Traoré government began what was to be a 10-year effort at economic reform in response to pressures from the World Bank and the IMF. Some of the components of this reform included the dissolution of unprofitable parastatals and the transfer of others to private ownership, the easing of price controls, and the initiation of free-market dynamics into the marketing of agricultural products. In addition, the IMF and World Bank required that Mali curtail expenditures. Mali's compliance with these requirements was at times poor, resulting in credit suspensions during 1987-1988. The end result was ever-increasing annual budget deficits which reached 43,400 million CFA francs in 1986, due in part to the collapse of world cotton prices. Annual fluctuations in Mali's

deficits have been determined by world prices for exports and the paying off of debt arrears. Although the latter resulted in a deficit of 49,500 million CFA francs in 1988, Mali had little choice if it were to secure resumption of IMF and World Bank credits. Under intense pressure from the IMF and World Bank, the Traoré government tried to reduce the annual budget deficit to 15,600 million CFA francs in 1990. The target for 1991 was to reduce it 6,000 million CFA francs. These reductions were achieved through politically unpopular actions that included increasing taxes, scaling down the civil service, and restricting the entry of school graduates into government employment. The Traoré government had little choice but to meet IMF and World Bank demands since it had annually used external grants to cover its budget deficits. The resulting austerity program proved extremely unpopular with students and civil servants and helped to galvanize them in their opposition to the government, which finally fell on March 26, 1991.

The budget deficit in 1993 was 16,000 million CFA francs, higher than the 10,800 million CFA franc deficit for 1992. In 1993, debt servicing represented 4.9% of the value of exports of goods and services. Mali's external debt in 1994 stood at \$2,392 million.

The annual rate of inflation in the early 1990s was 3.0%. Consumer prices rose by 0.6% in 1990, 1.8% in 1991, 2.2% in 1992, and 2.6% in 1993.

In February 1984, members of the West African Monetary Union (UMOA) voted to accept Mali as a full member. Mali's entry to UMOA had been consistently blocked by Burkina Faso (Upper Volta) since the 1974-1975 border dispute between the two countries. On June 1, 1984, the CFA franc began officially circulating in Mali, where it replaced the Mali franc.

## Foreign Trade

Since becoming independent, Mali has suffered a chronic trade deficit. In the mid-1960s, exports averaged 4,000 million CFA francs annually, while imports were threefold at 12,000 million CFA francs. The legal and illegal outflow of capital worsened the situation during that decade. By 1967, Mali's annual debt service had risen to 5,000 million Mali francs. Reentering the Franc Zone in 1967 was in part accomplished by a 50% devaluation of the Mali franc. Until 1972, annual import growth held at 15%. Exports tripled between 1969 and 1974 because of increased cotton and peanut sales. But this advantage was negated by the sharp increase in petroleum prices, as well as by the necessity of importing large amounts of cereals in 1973 to 1974; import costs in the early 1970s were three times export earnings.

In 1975 and 1976, import spending fell as less food was imported. And in 1976 and 1977, the trade deficit dropped sharply because of

increased production of cotton and higher international prices for peanuts. During these two years, export earnings doubled over previous years while imports remained the same. In 1978, exports fell by 31% due to poor cotton and peanut crops; imports rose by 35% because of increased food purchases. This situation (during which the trade deficit exceeded total export earnings) continued into the mid-1980s. In 1982, the trade deficit reached 121,400 million Mali francs as compared with export receipts of only 95,800 million Mali francs. Much of this deficit was accounted for by increased petroleum costs that were not being offset by improved earnings from cotton and livestock sales.

Petroleum price increases and the negative impact of a severe drought on agricultural production resulted in a record trade deficit in 1986 of 80,400 million CFA francs. Good harvests in the late 1980s reduced the need for food imports, and this coupled with increased revenues from

gold exports (which offset the weak price for cotton) resulted in a reduction in the trade deficit.

International assistance and cash remittances from emigrants help offset the annual trade deficit. The latter amounts to about \$23 million, a quarter to a third of the annual trade deficit. Foreign assistance acquired through bilateral and multilateral agencies averaged \$218.8 million per year during the period 1979-1982. By 1985-1989, it had increased to \$416 million per year. The French, especially, provide high levels of financial support (in addition to their annual budgetary subsidy). In 1982, foreign assistance funds amounted to one-sixth of Mali's Gross National Product. By 1993, these funds had risen to one-fifth of the Gross National Product. By 1985, Mali's external debt stood at \$1,472 million despite the cancellation of significant bilateral debt up to that time. This debt amounted to 142% of the Gross National Product. By 1989, Mali's external debt had risen to \$12,157 million, in part because agreements with the IMF had been suspended and no debt-relief concessions were available. However, in October 1988, Mali was the beneficiary of the preferential debt-relief program agreed upon in Toronto, Canada, at the summit meeting of industrialized countries. Without this relief, it was projected that Mali's external debt would rise to 30% of foreign earnings for 1988-1990. The "Paris Club" of Western official creditors rescheduled \$70 million in repayment and interest due up to October 1987. A further rescheduling was agreed upon in November 1989. In early 1990, Mali's official debt of \$240 million to France was forgiven, while the United States cancelled \$7 million of official debt. Despite these efforts, debt servicing obligations currently amount to 10% of annual foreign earnings. The external debt of \$2,392 million is greater than the annual Gross National Product of \$2,109 million.

Transportation

Mali now has about 1,934 kilometers of paved roads. One major paved road heads east out of Bamako to Ségou, San, and Mopti. The other one goes south to Bougouni, Sikasso, and the Ivory Coast border. There is also a paved road connecting San with Koutiala, and Koutiala with the Burkina Faso border. The Bougouni-Sikasso-Ivory Coast border road was completed in 1966; the San-Koutiala road, in 1967; and the San-Ségou road, in 1968. The San-Koutiala road, by far one of the best, but only 84 miles long, was built by the Egyptians.

The newest and most important paved road is the 359-mile stretch between Sevaré and Gao. It replaces a poor track that required two to three days to traverse, and for the first time brings the eastern part of the country into closer contact with the center. This road cost \$142 million, and was funded by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries Fund

for International Development and the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa. The other new roads have been constructed with the assistance of different national and international agencies. In addition to these roads, Mali has a number of short paved roads often associated with development projects, and about 6,000 miles of unpaved all-weather roads. Maintenance of all these roads has been generally poor and sporadic. The Bamako-Ségou road, paved during the colonial era, was completely rebuilt in the late 1970s. A road maintenance program in 1981 to 1983 was supported by the Swiss and others who provided \$43.3 million to maintain 6,600 kilometers of road. Improvements of the 556-kilometer road from Gao to the Algerian border were begun in 1979; the road forms part of the Trans-Saharan Highway.

During the 1980s, many of Mali's paved roads, built in the 1960s, fell into serious disrepair. In the latter 1980s, the International Development Association provided \$73.4 million to repair the main paved roads and to rebuild parts of the road between Bamako and Sikasso and the Ivory Coast. This road is vital to Mali's economy since it carries some 60% of Mali's imports and 65% of its exports. By 1994, it had been completely rehabilitated. In 1983, Mali opened a warehouse in Lome (Togo) in anticipation of the future flow of imports and exports out of the eastern part of the country. The 640-kilometer rail link from Bamako to the Senegal border was improved in the early 1980s. River transport on the Niger was improved in the 1970s with the addition of the *Kanga Moussa*, a fairly new riverboat that carries both passengers and freight. The *General Soumaré*, a gift of West Germany in the mid-1960s, is still in service, as is the *Mali*, which dates back to colonial times. The Niger is navigable from Koulikoro to Gao, from August to January; and from Mopti to Gao, from August through February. The upper Niger is navigable from



Bamako to Guinea, from August through January. The Senegal is navigable from Kayes downstream to Saint-Louis in Senegal, from July to October. The duration of navigability of these rivers varies from year to year depending on rainfall.

Air transport inside of Mali used to be provided by Air Mali, whose fleet in the mid-1980s consisted of a Boeing 727, a Boeing 737, an Ilyushin-18, 2 DC-3's and 2 Antonov-24's.

Since the dissolution of Air Mali, internal air service is provided by the Société des Transports Aériens (STA), which is privately owned, and by Tombouctou Air Service, which was founded in 1988 to succeed Air Mali. It is 20% state owned, and 80% owned by Malian investors. In addition to the Bamako-Sénou Airport, there are major airports or air strips at Bourem, Gao, Goundam, Kayes, Kita, Mopti, Nioro, Ségou, Tessalit, and Timbuctoo. The air strips at the new international airport at Sénou were completed in 1973, and the terminal building opened on December 29, 1975.

## Population

In 1996, Mali had an estimated population of close to nine million people, 90% of whom lived in rural areas. The population density varies from 70 persons per square mile in the central part of the country to fewer than five persons per square mile in the north. Bamako, the largest city, which had a population of 320,000 in 1972, saw its numbers more than double to 800,000 by 1994. Only a few other towns have sizable populations: Mopti (70,000); Ségou (90,000); Kayes (70,000); Sikasso (75,000); and San (45,000). A number of towns are undergoing growth because of the presence of new local industries. These towns include Koutiala, Bla, and Fana. Sevaré, 13 kilometers from Mopti, has also undergone a rapid increase in population; Mopti, because of its insular location in the flood plain, has limited growth potential.

In 1996, 48.87% of the population was male, and 51.13% female. In part, this ratio is accounted for by the exodus of young men to labor markets in nearby African states. The birth rate in 1996 was 49.0 per 1,000 persons, and the mortality rate was 20 per 1,000. For the past 20 years, the annual population growth rate has remained at about 2.5%. Most of the population is overwhelmingly young: 60% is less than 20 years old. Average life expectancy is 44 years, up from 35 years a decade ago. Most deaths occur in children younger than two years of age.

There are several major ethnic groups in Mali, also a number of smaller ones, some of whom share common cultural and linguistic characteristics with one of the major groups. The largest ethnic group is the Bambara (Bamana), who comprise 32% of the total population. The Bambara live in much of central and southern Mali along the middle Niger valley. The Malinké (Maninka), who comprise 6.6%,

live in the southwest and west. They are the heirs to the ancient Mali empire, and, speaking a related language, are culturally close to the Bambara. The Peul (Fula) comprise 14% of the population. This group is concentrated in the inland delta of the Niger in the administrative *région* of Mopti, but smaller numbers are found elsewhere in the country. The Sarakolé (Sonike) comprise 8.8%; they live in the Sahel in northwestern Mali, and are descendants of the Ghana empire. The Songhay live along the Niger Bend in eastern Mali; they comprise 7.2%. The Dogon, whose culture and art forms have gained renown worldwide, live on the Bandiagara plateau. They comprise 4.0%. The Senufo and Minianka, who live in southeastern Mali, comprise 5.5%, and their Malian neighbors to the northeast, the Bobo, 2.4%. The Bozo and Somono fishermen of the Niger number about 40,000. Several other groups live in the country, among whom are the Tuareg nomads of the northeast, who comprise 3%, the Maure nomads of the Sahel, who comprise 1.2%, and the Diawara. Khas-

sonké, Tukulor, and Dioulawho together represent about 1.8% of the population.

Most of these groups are agriculturists, except for the Peul, Tuareg, and Maure, who are primarily pastoralists, and the Bozo and Somono, who are fishermen. The Sarakolé and Dioula are merchants, in addition to being farmers. In western, central, and southern Mali, Bambara is the lingua franca, although French is the official language. It tends to be the lingua franca in most administrative centers, since such a high proportion of educated administrators are Bambara. In the inland delta, Fulfulde the Peul language is the lingua franca; in eastern and northeastern Mali, Songhay is widely spoken, even by many Tuareg and Maure.

### Administration

In the late 1950s, the French Sudan was administratively divided into 17 large units called *cercles*, each of them headed by a commandant, who was a French colonial official. Eight of these *cercles* were divided into smaller units called *subdivisions*. The *cercles* and subdivisions were divided into *cantons*, traditional tribal groupings headed by chiefs. The *cantons* were divided into village units. The authority of *canton* chiefs was generally limited to family and civil issues. These chiefs reported directly to the French colonial officials who headed either the *cercles* or subdivisions. Five towns in the French Sudan had full municipal authorities at that time: Bamako, Kayes, Mopti, Ségou, and Sikasso. Eight others had more limited authorities.

On July 7, 1960, the Keita government promulgated a law decentralizing the country's administration. Six *régions* were created: Kayes, Bamako, Ségou, Sikasso, Mopti, and Gao; these were headed by governors and, in turn, divided into 42 *cercles*, which were

subdivided into 228 *arrondissements*. The *régions* were, and still are, referred to numerically, Kayes being called the First Region, and Gao, long known as the Sixth Region, now called the Seventh Region after the 1977 administrative reforms. The *cercles*, smaller units than their colonial era counterparts, were headed by commandants. The governors, who reported directly to the Ministry of the Interior, were responsible for regional economic and administrative coordination. Reflecting this role was the title assigned to the regional chief medical officer, *medecin-coordonateur* (coordinating physician). Since 1969, this title has been changed to that of regional director of health. The headquarters of *cercles* are large villages or towns, called *chef-lieu*. These villages usually possess police, health, education, and justice services. The *chef-lieu* of *arrondissements* often have a rural school and a dispensary. Most *arrondissements* group several villages or nomad fractions. The *chef d'arrondissement*, as the head of each

such unit is known, is responsible for collecting taxes, recording deaths and births, performing marriages, and settling local disputes.

In 1969, President Moussa Traoré created the Commission Nationale de Reforme Administrative (CNRA), which was officially institutionalized by Decret No 155 du 30 Octobre 1973. The commission was given a sweeping mandate to study, advise, and coordinate administrative reform in the country. Based on many studies conducted by the CNRA, the Malian government modified the administrative structure of the country in 1977 (Ordonnances 77/44 et 77/45 du 12 Juillet 1977). This reform included a number of major structural changes. The Gao *région* had nine *cercles*, which were reduced to five, the remaining four *cercles* being incorporated into the new *région* of Timbuctoo. To these four Goundam, Timbuctoo, Gourma-Rharous and Diré was added the northern portion of the former *cercle* of Niafunké (part of the Mopti region), which retains the name Niafunké. The southern portion of the old Niafunké *cercle*, now called Youvarou, became a new *cercle* of the Mopti *région*. Previously, Youvarou was an *arrondissement*. A new *cercle*, called Bla, was created in the Ségou *région* from several *arrondissements* that had previously been part of the Koutiala *cercle*, which is in the Sikasso *région*. Also included in this new *cercle* was the Yangasso *arrondissement*, once part of the San *cercle*. The former Bamako *cercle* (located near the capital) was dissolved, its central *arrondissement* made into the autonomous Bamako district. The remaining *arrondissements* of this *cercle* were reconstituted into a new *cercle*, Kati, named after one of the *arrondissements* that now became the *chef-lieu* of the new *cercle*. The capital of the former Bamako region was shifted east to Koulikoro and the region called by that name. In addition to Bla, Youvarou, and Kati, two other *arrondissements* were elevated to *cercle* status. These include Diema

in Kayes, and Baraoueli in Ségou. Prior to the 1977 administrative reforms, Mali had 228 *arrondissements*. By 1986, the number had risen to 278. The city of Bamako, which had grown from 200,000 inhabitants in 1960 to 800,000 in 1994, is now divided into six districts.

The 1977 administrative reforms altered the responsibilities of regional governors, who were now given greater administrative authority and key roles in economic planning. To facilitate this planning role, regional development committees were organized. Advisory councils were also set up to counsel both village chiefs and the heads of nomad factions. Members of these councils are elected for five-year periods.

On May 15, 1991, an eighth *région* was created in the northeast of the country of the former *cercle* of Kidal. This was a conciliatory political gesture toward the various Tuareg liberation movements which had begun an armed rebellion in the north in 1990. Most of the population of Kidal is Tuareg.

## The Bureaucracy

Mali's early socialist option resulted in the steady growth of state bureaucracy and in the development of parastatals. By 1985, the Malian government directly employed close to 50,000 civil servants. An additional 15,000 individuals were employed by the parastatals. The growth of the Malian bureaucracy was rapid because of the almost total absence of private-sector jobs for graduates of various educational institutions. As education became more widespread, the number of graduates being awarded diplomas, certificates, or licenses rose rapidly each year. Since 1960, it had been government policy to hire most of them. In 1970, 726 qualified graduates were added to the civil service. In 1983, 4,823 were added, a sevenfold annual increase. In that year, 80.55% of the annual budget was allotted for personnel services. During the late 1970s, the government, instead of revamping the entire economy, tried to reduce the number of graduates: stiffer examinations were imposed to lower the number of diploma and certificate holders; financial assistance for students in higher education was withdrawn; and a public policy articulated that gave graduates no guarantee of eventual government employment. Without alternative employment options and faced with the prospect of a grim future, students organized and launched, in Bamako, a series of violent protests.

In response, the government rescinded most of its policy; simultaneously, it was pressured by the International Monetary Fund and other groups to radically alter the nature of the economy by encouraging private enterprise and abolishing many parastatals. In a speech to the nation on Independence Day, September 22, 1983, President Moussa Traoré announced, in euphemistic terms, that Mali had to reverse its budgetary practices and channel young graduates into the private sector. At the same time, he announced government



plans to request assistance from the IMF, the World Bank, and other groups in order to obtain the funds necessary for forging a new plan to encourage not only free enterprise but employment opportunities within the private sector.

By the late 1980s, under pressure from the IMF and the World Bank, the Traoré government was forced to adhere to an economic austerity plan that required sharp reductions in the number of government employees, greatly reduced access to the civil service for graduates, froze salaries, and reduced the number of stipends for students. These measures helped to galvanize angry and disaffected teachers, students, and civil servants who were otherwise being drawn into common cause for democratic reforms. It was their organized protests which significantly led to the downfall of the Traoré government on March 26, 1991.

Despite measures to privatize and to reduce the size of the civil service (which currently employs 50,000), Mali still has an enormous state

sector which consumes most of its annual expense budget. The annual budget must go to support not only the salaries of civil servants but also fringe benefits and other entitlements. This excessively large civil service is the legacy of Mali's early Marxist domestic policies. Mali's private sector is still nascent, and there is little hope that it will be able to absorb large numbers of graduates in the near future. As a result, many young Malian men have migrated to Europe, and increasingly, to the United States.

### The Impact of The Economy on Emigration

For many years, Malian men have seasonally migrated to the employment markets of the Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Liberia. Significant numbers, especially the Sarakolé from western Mali, have migrated to France for many years. Grim employment opportunities have driven ever-increasing numbers of Malians abroad in search of work. Poorer employment opportunities in the Ivory Coast and a large increase in the size of the employable male population have shifted emigration patterns more strongly in the direction of Europe and, more recently, to the United States.

Prior to the late 1980s, there were few Malian immigrants to the United States. The language barrier, difficulties in obtaining passports and visas, the absence of a Malian community to provide entry support to immigrants, and the cost of air transportation were all strong disincentives. However, the language barrier has in part been overcome as instruction in English has spread in the Malian educational system, gradually replacing Russian, the preferred second language of President Modibo Keita's Marxist regime. From 1960 through the mid-1980s, the government severely restricted the issuance of passports. Conscious of the political advantages of encouraging out-migration of the educated unemployed, however, the

Malian government greatly liberalized its policy governing the issuance of passports. Once Malians obtain a passport, most find it relatively easy to obtain a tourist visa at the American Embassy in Bamako or at embassies in Europe. Families are currently putting together the funds to purchase the necessary airfare, viewing it as a wise investment that will benefit them all. And finally, as the numbers of Malians in the United States have increased, they have formed communities where essential support systems are in place to help newcomers. These Malian communities are in turn buttressed by communities of other French-speaking West Africans, especially those from Guinea and the northern Ivory Coast, with whom they share commonalities of indigenous language and culture. By 1995 there were close to 5,000 Malian immigrants in the U.S.

In New York City, there were some 400 Malians driving gypsy cabs

in 1995. Several years before, there were none. This community of primarily young men is centered in the Bronx and Brooklyn, and has among its members mechanics who repair the cabs. The latter are usually used cars purchased for \$1,000.00 to \$1,500.00 in Delaware, where automobile purchase is possible without proof of insurance. Functioning primarily in inner-city neighborhoods, these Malians usually drive without automobile insurance and possess false papers, including social security cards, permanent resident cards (green cards), and driver's licenses. In cases of serious accidents, they are prepared to flee the scene and abandon the cab, which represents a small and replaceable capital investment, especially if they have been driving it for a few months. The nontaxed income from these cabs enables owners to recoup their original investment within a few weeks. The availability of cheap insider-group mechanics keeps maintenance costs at a minimum. For all these reasons, this type of employment greatly appeals to newly arrived young Malian men. Other Malian men are street vendors, selling wristwatches and small apparel items such as scarves.

As with many other previous immigrant groups, most of these Malian immigrants view their stay as temporary. They are interested in making a reasonable amount of money and then returning to Mali, repeating the cycle as necessary. However, some have now brought over their wives and children, and have little thought of returning.

## The Dictionary

### A

#### ABIBU TALL.

Second son of El Hadj Omar Tall and full brother of Moktar Tall, Abibu was the *emir* of Dinguiray, the village from which Omar launched his *jihād* in 1852. Abibu and his full brother Moktar, who were the sons of one of Omar's principal wives, Aissatu, daughter of Mohammed Bello of Sokoto, refused to accept the claim to centralized supremacy made, on Omar's death, by their half brother, Amadou Tall of Ségou. This refusal resulted in civil wars that ravaged the Tukulor domains between 1871 and 1874. Abibu and Moktar tried to take the town of Nioro, which at the time was being ruled by an ex-slave and military commander, Mustafa. Omar had placed Mustafa in charge of the town, as well as of the territory surrounding it. Amadou came from Ségou with a large army to defend Nioro and, while there, had himself proclaimed *amir al muminin* at a public ceremony. In so doing, Amadou publicly declared his leadership of all the Tukulor domains. Both Amadou and his two rivals built up military support among the *talibes* in preparation for open conflict, which finally took place in 1871. Abibu and Moktar were militarily defeated, the latter being arrested and taken in chains to Ségou. Abibu escaped to Dinguiray where he held Amadou's mother hostage, refusing to let her go until his brother Moktar was released. A number of the talibes disagreed with Amadou's handling of the situation; but instead of confronting him, they left Nioro and Diomboko in a large exodus and returned to the Futa Toro. In January 1873, Amadou finally released Moktar and returned him to his post. In return, Abibu released Amadou's mother, Fatima. Thus, the first phase of the Tukulor civil

war accomplished little. Amadou was anxious to return to Ségou where Aguibu, another of his brothers, was ruling in his stead. He left Nioro, taking Mustafa with him, and placed another of his brothers, Mohammed Muntaga Tall, in charge as *wazir* of Kaarta. But Amadou was back again in December 1873, accompanied by a sizable army. Abibu and Moktar had consolidated their forces and had obtained the hesitant cooperation of Muntaga. On Amadou's arrival, however, Muntaga changed sides and supported his brother. The talibes were not

fully supportive of Amadou's claims to supremacy, arguing that El Hadj Omar would not have set up separate treasuries had he wished a centralized state. Nonetheless, Amadou defeated both Moktar and Abibu in early 1874 and replaced them at their respective posts. *See* AMADOU TALL; EL HADJ OMAR TALL; AGUIBU TALL; MOKTAR TALL; MOHAMMED MUNTAGA TALL; SEGOU TUKULOR EMPIRE.

ABU BAKR IBN 'UMAR (d. 1087).

Leader of the Almoravids, a group that eventually exercised control over the Ghana empire. After the Almoravid movement split, Abu Bakr became leader of the southern group that controlled vast areas of the Sahara and the Sahel in present-day Mauritania, Senegal, and northwestern Mali. In 1059, on the death of Abdallah ibn Racine, founder of the movement, Abu Bakr became leader of the Almoravids, residing in Aghmat, near present-day Marrakech in Morocco. In 1060-61, he left Morocco to suppress a revolt in the south, placing his cousin Youssof ibn Tachfine in charge of his northern domains. Youssof later refused to cede power, forcing Abu Bakr to retreat to the south. The majority of the Almoravid military force remained in Morocco. Some scholars maintain that Abu Bakr engaged in a steady military effort against Ghana between 1062-1076 which finally led to its conquest. This view has been challenged by other scholars who believe that an actual military conquest did not occur. They believe that the Almoravids came to exercise considerable control over Ghana as a result of their nearby presence.

In time Abu Bakr's power declined. Eventually, only the Lamtuna Berbers remained loyal to him. In 1087, he was killed near Tagant while trying to suppress a revolt. *See* ALMORAVID; GHANA EMPIRE.

## ACTION PROGRESSISTE INDEPENDANTE (API).

A splinter party which broke away from the Parti Progressiste Soudanais in 1955. More an electoral committee, the API tried to compete in the 1956 National Assembly elections. The party was led by Tidiani Traoré, who lost badly in the July 1956 race for the Chamber of Deputies seat. The group was absorbed into the Union Soudanaise in 1956. In 1952, PPS dissidents formed a predecessor group, the Action Progressiste (AP).

## ADMINISTRATION.

From France, Mali inherited a highly centralized form of administration. Cabinet ministers are appointed by the president after being nominated by the prime minister. In turn, *région*, *cercle*, and *arrondissement* administrators are, with presidential ap-



proval, appointed by the minister of the interior. The cabinet is currently known as the Council of Ministers and consists of 15 ministers. Throughout Mali's history, there have been frequent changes in cabinet ministers as well as changes in the responsibilities of various ministries.

Mali is divided into eight *régions*: Kayes, Kidal, Koulikoro, Ségou, Sikasso, Mopti, Timbuctoo, and Gao. These *régions* are divided into some 46 *cercles*, which in turn are divided into 278 *arrondissements*. See INTRODUCTION.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM OF 1977.

See INTRODUCTION.

AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE FRANÇAISE (AOF).

A federation of territories and colonies established in October 1904. A federal government was established and headed by a governor-general who had extensive powers (including those of taxation). Each colony (the Sudan, for example) was headed by a lieutenant governor who, in 1937, was eventually given the title of governor. The interior borders of the colonies and territories inside of AOF were changed several times, especially in 1919 and 1932. In the Sudan, the 1904 decree provided for a Conseil d'Administration whose advisory powers were limited to assisting the lieutenant governor.

Similar bodies were set up in the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Guinea, Mauritania, Niger, and Upper Volta. In the Sudan, the members of this council of advisors were senior civil servants and unofficial representatives chosen by the local chamber of commerce and a limited African electorate. The latter were chosen from all levels of society and believed to have, because of their continuous relationship with government, an influence on local politics. Thus, traders, large landowners, and provincial and cantonal chiefs were members. After

1939, veterans of the army and the holders of certain licenses were admitted to the council. The governor-general, residing in Dakar, was the ultimate representative of Paris. The lieutenant governors reported directly to him. This administrative organization was maintained in essence throughout the life of the Third Republic.

Under the Fourth Republic, each colony was given a territorial assembly and permitted to elect two or three deputies to the French National Assembly in Paris. The territorial assemblies had the power to raise and spend territorial revenue and to elect senators to the Council of the Republic. Counselors were also elected to the Assembly of the French Union. A Grand Council was established in Dakar, which included five representatives from each territorial assembly. The Grand Council advised the governor-general. Under the Fourth Republic, therefore, a complex parliamentary system was developed in AOF

comprising 384 members of territorial assemblies, 277 of whom were elected by Africans in separate status or in conjunction with French colonials. There were 40 members on the Grand Council in Dakar and 67 representatives in three separate bodies in Paris. The Grand Council dissolved when, in 1939, the Popular Front era ended. AOF came under Vichy rule until 1942. The post-war period witnessed the development of political parties in AOF, the election of party members to territorial assemblies and the French National Assembly, and the reestablishment of some of the Popular Front era institutions such as the Grand Council. On May 13, 1958, the Fourth Republic ended with the revolt of the French army in Algeria. On September 28, 1958, a new constitution was presented at a referendum by de Gaulle. All territories except Guinea approved the referendum and, under its aegis, AOF effectively broke up, and the colonies moved swiftly on to independence.

AGENCE NATIONALE D'INFORMATION DU MALI (ANIM). Formerly the national press agency of Mali which issued official press releases. The agency also produced a daily news program for Radio Mali called "Journal Parlé." In 1977, it became part of the Agence Malienne de Presse et de Promotion (AMPP).

AGUIBU TALL.

Tukulor chief and son of El Hadj Omar. Amadou Tall placed Aguibu in charge as regent between 1870 and 1873 in Ségou while he was away in Kaarta fighting Abibu Tall and his brother Moktar Tall. Amadou did not fully trust Aguibu and, during the regency, Aguibu was suspected of trying to seize power. Aguibu became *emir* of Dinguiray in 1876, a post previously occupied by his brother Abibu. Aguibu maintained friendly relations with the French as a means of keeping his options open for the future. On May 20, 1891, he went to Kita and made his submission to Archinard after Ségou and Kaarta

had fallen and his brother Amadou had fled to Macina. By this action Aguibu hoped to gain Kaarta. Archinard sent Aguibu back to Dinguiray as chief, asking him to keep a check on Samory. Aguibu hoped that he would become head of the Tukulor empire following Amadou's fall. The French saw through Aguibu's plan and exploited his ambition. In 1893, Aguibu joined Archinard in Ségou and together they marched to Bandiagara where Amadou's army disintegrated and Amadou fled. On May 4, 1893, Aguibu was installed by Archinard as the "king" of Macina. In this role, Aguibu, in effect, became a French agent. In 1895, a Council of Notables was appointed, its members sharing administrative powers; in 1902, Macina became part of the civil administration. Aguibu's title was reduced to "chief." He remained in this post until 1907 when, his behavior having become

erratic, he was retired with a pension. See SEGOU TUKULOR EMPIRE; AMADOU TALL; EL HADJ OMAR TALL; MOHAMMED MUNTAGA TALL.

### AHMAD BABA.

Renowned fourteenth- and fifteenth-century scholar of the Aqit family of Timbuctoo who wrote many books and treatises, a number of which have survived in Morocco and Egypt. A total of 56 works have been attributed to AHMAD BABA, 32 of which are still in existence. Approximately a quarter of Ahmad's works deal with theological subjects. The majority of the others, approximately 20 to 25 works, deal with jurisprudence. In addition, Ahmad Baba wrote four works dealing with grammar and four pertaining to historical biography. Among his works is *Kifayat al-Muktaj*, a major historical source on Maliki Islam that deals with scholars of the Maliki school. This work is a variant of an earlier one, *Nayl al-Ibthikaj*, which had enjoyed wide readership in North Africa, Egypt, and the East. Both works mention some of the renowned scholars of Timbuctoo, particularly the Aqits.

Because of the popularity of the *Nayl al-Ibthikaj* in North Africa, Timbuctoo earned a reputation in the Moslem world as a place of learning. Following the Moroccan invasion of the western Sudan in 1591, Ahmad Baba and other Timbuctoo scholars were exiled to Morocco in 1594 by Mahmud ibn Zargun, then pasha of the region. The people of Timbuctoo had launched a revolt against the Moroccans in 1593, and the literati had been prominent in organizing it. Later, some 14 scholars were killed at the time of the mass arrest at the Sankoré Mosque. Subsequently, a number of private libraries in Timbuctoo were seized and their contents sold. Ahmad Baba is reported to have lost 1,600 volumes from his library. While in exile in Morocco, he and other Timbuctoo literati were able to exert considerable influence on public opinion, and they found strong

friends and supporters among Moroccan scholars. While a number of the Timbuctoo literati perished in prison in Marrakesh, others may have perished during the plague of 1596 to 1598. Imprisoned scholars were released around 1595 but prohibited from returning to Timbuctoo. While still in Morocco, Ahmad Baba wrote and taught extensively. He returned to Timbuctoo (1607-1608) and died there (1626-1627). In 1973, the Malian government established the Ahmad Baba Center for Documentation and Historical Research. *See* AQIT; MOROCCAN INVASION; TIMBUCTOO; ULAMA.

#### AHMAD BABA CENTER FOR DOCUMENTATION AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

Inaugurated in 1973 with financial support received from the Islamic Conference, UNESCO, and the governments

of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, the center was established in Timbuctoo. The purpose of the center is to collect, preserve, and study written sources of African history. In Mali, the center is known in French as Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Historique Ahmad Baba (CEDRAB). Since 1973, scholars at the center have collected 1,500 original manuscripts, some of which date to 1241 A.D. The manuscripts are in Arabic, Arabicized Peul, or Songhay. In addition, the center has some 3,500 Arabic books. The center's director estimates there are from 20,000 to 30,000 manuscripts at large in northern Mali. Many of these manuscripts are in the hands of Tuareg and Maure nomads. Funds for their purchase have been provided by Saudi Arabia. Timbuctoo boasts a number of private family libraries, some of which contain extremely old manuscripts. The center's systematic effort to collect manuscripts is the first ever undertaken in this part of Africa. This effort, in addition to more recent research by scholars in North Africa, has revealed that many of the libraries in existence at the time of the Moroccan invasion were not completely destroyed; rather, their contents were dispersed. *See* AHMAD BABA; AQIT; MOROCCAN INVASION; TIMBUCTOO.

ALFA.

A Songhay term used for someone literate in Arabic. The word was later used to mean "scholar," or the social group of such men and their families. *See* ULAMA; MARABOUT.

ALLIANCE POUR LA DEMOCRATIE AU MALI (ADEMA). The most important of the prodemocracy groups which from late 1990 through early 1991 launched protests and demonstrations in order to bring about multiparty democracy in Mali. Headed by Alpha Oumar Konaré, an historian, archeologist, and former government minister who founded a cultural cooperative, Jamana, in 1983, it attracted a heterogenous group of supporters. Following the fall of Moussa

Traoré on March 26, 1991, ADEMA became a major force within the transitional governing committee (CTSP). When political parties were legalized on April 5, 1991, ADEMA changed its name to the Parti Africain pour la Solidarité et la Justice and retained its original acronym.

#### ALMAMY.

A Peul term for the leader of the Futa Toro state, now part of Senegal. The title came into use in 1776 with the establishment of an Islamic clerical ruling class. It was adopted by a number of other religious leaders, including Samory Touré. The word comes from *Al-Iman*, Arabic for prayer leader.

#### ALMORAVID.

An eleventh and twelfth-century Islamic reform movement of proselytization and military conquest of the western Sahel,



Sahara, Maghreb, and Iberian peninsula. The movement was founded by Abdallah ibn Racine and had its origins among two Berber groups of modern-day Mauritania, the Jeddala and the Lamtuna. When Racine imposed puritanical and rigorous Islamic law on the Jeddala, they eventually drove him out. He and some followers retreated to a *ribat* (religious retreat) on the Senegal River around 1040. There they enjoyed the protection of the Tekrur king, War Jabi. Racine made many converts along the river. Because of the support of two Lamtuna chiefs, Yahya and Abu Bakr ibn Umar, the Lamtuna became the core of the movement. By 1042, Racine had converted many of the Saharan tribes, especially the Sanhaja, and then moved on to take Sijilmasa, the town in southern Morocco that was the terminus of the trans-Saharan trade. Abu Bakr ibn Umar, the leader of the southern Almoravids, then conquered Audoghast, the southern terminus of the same route. This gave the Almoravids complete control of the trans-Saharan trade route on which Ghana's prosperity depended. They came to exercise control over Ghana. This as well as the environmental degradation caused by the large Almoravid herds were strong forces affecting Ghana's decline.

Between 1056 and 1059, the Almoravids made considerable military gains in southern Morocco. Abdallah ibn Racine was killed in 1059 during a battle against the Barghawata. Abu Bakr ibn Umar then became sole leader of the Almoravids. He went south to put down a rebellion among the Sanhaja, leaving the principal forces in the north under the command of his cousin Youssof ibn Tachfine. Youssof refused to yield his newly acquired authority; being weaker militarily, Abu Bakr returned south. Youssof eventually established the Almoravid empire in Morocco and Spain. Abu Bakr remained in the south where some scholars maintain he invaded Ghana in 1076, destroyed Koumbi, and installed a converted ruler. This view that the

Almoravids actually invaded and destroyed Ghana is disputed by other scholars. Abu Bakr was killed in 1087 and afterwards his followers became fragmented and fought one another. The Almoravid *jiḥād* was the first of its kind in this part of the world, establishing a precedent that was followed in later centuries. *See* ABU BAKR IBN 'UMAR; GHANA EMPIRE.

AL MUKTHAR AL KUNTI.

*See* MOHAMMED EL KUNTI.

AMADOU AMADOU.

Last of the Bari rulers of Macina who succeeded on his father's abdication in 1852. When El Hadj Omar conquered Ségou in March 1861, Amadou Amadou sent an army of 30,000 men to assist Ali Diarra, the Bambara king, who was then in retreat. The Peul army was routed near Ségou after a brief encounter

with Omar's forces. Ba Lobbo put up token opposition to the advancing Tukulor at Konihou and retreated to Djenne. Amadou Amadou then took over the army and encountered the Tukulor at Tiaewal. The battle was indecisive and the Tukulor ran out of bullets. Had the Peul attacked at that time they could have defeated the Tukulor. But, committing a serious tactical error, Amadou Amadou waited five days, during which time the Tukulor manufactured 10,000 bullets. The Peul, despite their bravery, ran away. Omar quickly occupied Hamdallaye, and Amadou Amadou, with his family, treasury, and books, fled in four canoes down the Niger on his way to Timbuctoo. Captured and taken to Mopti, he was beheaded there by the Tukulor in June 1862. *See* BA LOBBO; PEUL EMPIRE OF MACINA.

AMADOU-AMINA.

*See* HAMADOU-AMINA I; HAMADOU-AMINA II.

AMADOU CHEIKOU.

Son of Cheikou Amadou. In 1844, he succeeded his father as *Amirou Moumenina* (prince of the believers) of Macina. The principal accomplishments of Amadou's reign include the continuation of his father's policies and the reestablishment of Macina's suzerainty over Timbuctoo in 1846. The latter was achieved through diplomatic negotiation with Sidi el Bekaye, chief of the Kounta Arabs, then in ascendancy in Timbuctoo. In 1852, Amadou Cheikou announced that he was ill and no longer wished to govern. Assembling his Grand Council, which consisted of, among others, his cousins Ba Lobbo and Abdul Salam, he told the council members to choose a successor. As in the previous succession, Ba Lobbo was given serious consideration by the council, but it is probable that Amadou Cheikou petitioned in favor of his son, Amadou Amadou, insuring the succession because he was still alive and had influence. Amadou Cheikou finally died on

February 27, 1853, during the first year of his son's reign. He left behind an undercurrent of resentment and dissension, so disappointed were his cousins at the results of the succession. Because of their key military power, this disappointment proved fatal for Amadou Amadou when the Tukulor invaded in 1862 and his cousins withheld their full support. Their hope was that Amadou Amadou's removal would enable them to assume control under Tukulor auspices. *See* PEUL EMPIRE OF MACINA.

AMADOU TALL (1840?-1898).

The oldest son of El Hadj Omar Tall and head of the Ségou Tukulor empire from 1864 to 1890. After his father's death in 1864, Amadou tried unsuccessfully to assert his supremacy over the entire Tukulor empire. During this attempt, he was opposed in Kaarta by his half brothers Moktar and Abibu and in

Macina by his cousin Tijani. Amadou was plagued with civil wars in Kaarta, rebellions in Ségou, as well as by the steady advance of the French.

In 1890, the French conquered the town of Ségou under Archinard; Amadou retreated to Kaarta but was driven out in 1891. He then took refuge in Macina but was again driven out by the French in 1893. Amadou and his followers finally took asylum in the Sokoto caliphate in northern Nigeria; in 1896, they were settled around Maykouki, where Amadou died in 1898.

By all accounts an enlightened and wise ruler, Amadou treated several French missions kindly. Although he was an alien ruler in the Bambara country, Amadou is held in high esteem today by the Islamized Bambara of Ségou, where he ruled for almost 30 years. See ABIBU TALL; MOKTAR TALL; MOHAMMED MUNTAGA TALL.

AMIS DU RASSEMBLEMENT POPULAIRE DU SOUDAN FRANCAIS (ARP).

An organization founded in 1937 by a group of Sudanese French colonials for the purpose of supporting the Popular Front. At first the group was made up only of Frenchmen, but in 1938 two Africans, French citizens, were also admitted. In 1938, the French colonial administration with ARP cooperation established the Maison du Peuple, which was begun so that all of Bamako's voluntary associations could be brought together. The administration used the ARP as a means of controlling the voluntary associations within the framework of the Maison du Peuple.

ANDERAMBOUKANE.

An *arrondissement* in the *cercle* of Menaka in eastern Mali. In 1916, Firhoun Ag El Insar, the Amenokal (chief) of the Oulliminden Tuareg, revolted against the French and fled from Goundam to

Anderamboukane. He was defeated and killed in 1916. *See* FIRHOUN AG EL INSAR.

#### ANSONGO.

A *cercle* of the Gao *région*, which borders on Burkina Faso and Niger. Most of Ansongo's 95,000 people are either Songhay farmers or Tuareg pastoralists. Much of the *cercle* is covered by dry sahel and sand dunes; it is divided into four *arrondissements*.

#### AQIT.

A family of renowned Timbuctoo scholars who, in the early fifteenth century, probably came from Macina as traders. Mohammed Aqit, who first moved to Timbuctoo, may have been descended from leaders of the Almoravid movement. The Aqits became part of the patriciate of Islamic scholars whose consensus ruled Timbuctoo during the Songhay period. Five members of this family held the position

of *qadi* (judge) of Timbuctoo. The most famous member of this family was Ahmad Baba. When the Moroccans invaded Songhay in 1591, he and other Aqit scholars were sent into exile. Some scholars hold that Mahmoud Umar Aqit or a close relative was the real author of the *Tarikh el Fettach*, generally credited to Mahmoud Kati, who died in 1593 A.D. See AHMAD BABA; MOROCCAN INVASION; TIMBUCTOO.

#### ARAOUANE.

A small settlement in the desert some 260 miles north of Timbuctoo. It achieved importance between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries because of its strategic location and its wells, both of which were crucial to caravans involved in the trans-Saharan trade. As the trade in slaves and gold shifted to the West African coast, Araouane declined. By the early 1930s there were only 250 people living there. During the late 1960s the number had dropped to 150, where it has remained into the early 1990s.

In recent decades, the economic life of Araouane has depended on the mining of salt at Taoudeni to the north. Many of the Songhay from Araouane work seasonally in the mines. However, the demand for salt has steadily declined and with it Araouane's population.

In the late 1980s, an American, Ernst Aebi, started a development project in Araouane with his own funds. It included the planting of a vegetable garden and trees, the establishment of a school for Araouane's children, and the building of a modest tourist hotel. However, much of Aebi's effort was destroyed when Tuareg rebels attacked Araouane. Aebi describes this unusual project in his 1993 book, *Seasons of Sand*.

#### ARCHINARD, GEN. LOUIS (1850-1932).

French military officer who as a major, lieutenant colonel, and later

colonel brought about the fall of the Tukulor empire. Archinard first arrived in West Africa in 1880 to supervise the building of forts. Between 1888 and 1893, he initiated a series of military campaigns, some without the approval of the French government, by which the Tukulor empire was destroyed and much of present-day Mali from Kayes to Bandiagara was brought under French control. Archinard captured Koundian (1889), Ségou (1890), Ouossebougou (1890), Kaarta (1891), and Macina and Bandiagara (1893). An adroit diplomat, he was able to gain support of the Bambara and of some Tukulor. Archinard also launched a series of military campaigns against the Wassalu empire of Samory. Appointed *commandant-supérieur* in 1888, he was dismissed from his post in 1893 when a civilian government was installed in French West Africa. In 1895, Archinard was appointed Director of Defense in the Ministry of Colonies; in 1897 he was sent to Indochina. As a proponent of mil-



itary rule in the French Sudan, he came into conflict with those who favored civilian rule. Although his insubordination incurred the enmity of both his military and civilian superiors, it resulted in France's acquisition of much of the French Sudan.

## ARCHIVES.

The Archives Nationales (National Archives) are housed in a colonial-era building on Koulouba, a hill behind Bamako where a number of government offices are found. The earliest documents date from the 1880s and cover not merely the area that is now Mali, but also areas that later became part of Mauritania, Niger, Guinea, and Senegal (see Introduction for border changes during the colonial period).

Approximately two-thirds of the central archival collection is classified and organized and relatively accessible. The classified documents are listed in bound catalogs called *répertoires*. Pre-1918 documents are grouped into the *fonds anciens*, while those after that date fall into the *fonds recents*. Each of these two chronological series are in separate *repertoires*, while a third one includes unclassified documents. There are several copies of the bound *répertoires* for use by researchers. The *répertoires* are subclassified into *rayons*.

A third of the collection is not classified. However, one can gain access to these documents with the help of the archive staff. Some of the classified documents have undergone serious disintegration from the acid content of the paper. Compounding this problem is that of desiccation from the hot climate.

Although the National Archives contain regular reports from the commandants of the *cercles* for both the pre- and post-independence periods, reports from the *chefs* of the *arrondissements* (post-1959) and *cantons* (pre-1960) were stored at the *chef-lieu* of the *cercle*. These local archives have been poorly maintained and some documents also

have even been used as wastepaper. A few local archives were also vandalized during the 1990-1991 prodemocracy demonstrations. Various government ministries also have archival holdings. However, these are usually inaccessible. Those of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Affairs, for example, are stored underneath the Directorate of Public Health Building on Koulouba. However, retrieval is difficult because they are unclassified. Because a number of poisonous snakes have been found in the mounds of paper, ministry employees are afraid to retrieve documents. *See* LIBRARIES; RESEARCH INSTITUTES.

ARDO.

Peul term for leader or king. The word was used to designate the Diallo Peul rulers of Macina (1400-1810). *See* PEUL; PEUL KINGDOM OF MACINA.

#### ARMA.

A group of Songhay people descended from the sixteenth-century Moroccan invaders and their Sudanese wives. Many of the Moroccans were Irish, English, and Spanish soldiers who had been captured by the Sultan of Morocco and conscripted into his trans-Saharan adventure. The *Arma* became the noble ruling class of the city of Timbuctoo, where most of their descendants still live. Other members of the group live in villages in the Niger Bend and in the inland delta of the Niger. They number about 25,000 and are Moslem. *See* RUMA; MOROCCAN OCCUPATION.

#### ARMEE REVOLUTIONNAIRE DE LIBERATION DE L'AZAOUAD (ARLA).

A Tuareg rebel group that was operating in the north of Mali in 1990-1992. Its leader was Abderahmane Ag Gala. *See* TUAREG REVOLT OF 1990-1992.

#### ARMY.

The Malian Army comprises 6,900 men (1996). There is a 400-man air force (equipped by the Soviets) and a small navy consisting of three boats that patrol the Niger. A 5,000-man paramilitary force includes police and the gendarmerie. Officers are trained at the Ecole Interarmes at Kati near Bamako; of these, many are given training abroad. A number of senior officers were trained at Frejus in France. Equipment has been furnished by the USA, France, and the USSR. The People's Republic of China has provided light infantry weapons and equipment. The armed forces are organized on the French model. During the early 1990s, the army came under severe criticism from human rights groups for its wanton reprisal killings of Tuareg civilians during the Tuareg revolt.

#### ART ET TRAVAIL.

A cultural organization founded in 1938 by a Frenchman, LeGall. Modibo Keita was a prominent communist member and is often identified as the organization's founder. The purpose of the group was to acquaint its members with drawing, painting, and sculpture. Politically oriented people like Modibo Keita prodded the group to dramatize political and historical events, and to criticize the colonial government. In order to control organizations of this kind, the French colonial administration fostered the establishment of the Maison du Peuple, a group which brought such organizations together under one roof, both physically and administratively. *See* AMIS DU RASSEMBLEMENT.

ASKIA.

A dynasty of 11 Songhay emperors who ruled from 1492 until the Moroccan conquest of the empire in the 1590s. The dynasty was started by Mohammed Touré (also known as Askia Mohammed and

Askia the Great) who according to oral tradition was the son of Sonni Ali Ber's sister Kassey.

Although all of the Askias were Moslem, they varied in their adherence to Islamic practices. Askia Mohammed, the first Askia, overthrew the Za dynasty, which had ruled the Songhay since the seventh century. Askia Daoud (1549-1583) was the greatest of the Askia emperors. The Moroccans invaded Songhay in 1591 and overthrew the Askia Ishaq II. The Askia Nouh fought the Moroccans during a guerrilla war that lasted several years; he ruled in the Dendi, succeeded by several other Askias. Between 1591 and 1750, the Moroccans and their descendants gave the title Askia to 18 individuals. After 1591, however, the title lost its meaning. *See* SONGHAY EMPIRE; ASKIA MOHAMMED; SONGHAY EMPIRE; SONNI ALI BER; MOROCCAN INVASION.

#### ASKIA DAOUD.

One of four sons of Askia Mohammed who peacefully succeeded his brother Askia Ishaq I in 1549. Of his four immediate predecessors, three were brothers or half brothers, Moussa (1528-1521), Ismail (1537-1539) and Ishaq (1539-1549). Mohammed Bounkan (1531-1537) was a first cousin. His predecessors spent the early part of their reigns eliminating rivals; the latter part, they spent forestalling coups. Daoud, it appears, did not have to eliminate any of his potential rivals. His 33-year reign was the longest of any Askia reign aside from that of his father. The *Tarikh el Fettach* makes much of Daoud's Islamic virtues. The ruler memorized the Koran, helped establish libraries, gave alms, and helped rebuild the great mosque at Timbuctoo. He did not, however, make the pilgrimage to Mecca. In fact, only his father and his son El Hadj Mohammed (1583-1586) did so. Under Daoud, Songhay reached its zenith. Daoud died peacefully at Gao in 1582. Four of his sons ultimately followed him during the nine-year period

of succession following his death. The internal struggles of Daoud's sons greatly weakened Songhay. *See* ASKIA; ASKIA MOHAMMED; SONGHAY EMPIRE.

ASKIA THE GREAT.

*See* ASKIA MOHAMMED.

ASKIA ISHAQ II.

A son of Askia Daoud, Ishaq II succeeded his brother Askia Mohammed Bani. Bani died in 1588 en route to stemming a major rebellion in the western provinces led by Mohammed el Sidiq. With the support of the Maghsharen Tuareg and some of the notables of Timbuctoo, the latter proclaimed himself Askia. Ishaq II defeated Mohammed el Sidiq and then executed him and punished his supporters. In so doing Ishaq II alienated valuable allies who could

have helped him when the greatest threat to Songhay, the Moroccan Invasion, occurred. Routed by the invading Moroccans near Tondibi, he fled across the Niger with his troops and most of the population of the town of Gao. Following his escape, he entered into diplomatic contacts with Djouder, the Moroccan pasha who led the invasion force. Ishaq II offered considerable concessions to Djouder in return for Moroccan military withdrawal. But the Moroccan sultan el Mansur refused these concessions and sent a new pasha, Mahmoud, who arrived at Timbuctoo on August 17, 1591, with orders to completely subjugate Songhay. Ishaq's troops again engaged the Moroccans, this time on October 14, 1591, at Zenzen, near Bamba; again they were defeated. Ishaq was immediately deposed by the Songhay military and replaced by his brother Mohammed Gao, after which he retired with a handful of followers to Tonfina among the Gourmantche in present-day Burkina Faso. In March and April 1592, Ishaq II and his followers were killed by the Gourmantche. *See* MOROCCAN INVASION; SONGHAY EMPIRE; ASKIA.

#### ASKIA MOHAMMED.

Born Mohammed Touré. Mohammed was emperor of Songhay between 1492 and 1529. He usurped the throne from Sonni Bakari Da'o, son of Sonni Ali Ber, whose animist religion was the source of his spiritual authority. Oral traditions hold that Mohammed was the son of Sonni Ali Ber's sister Kassey. Not surprisingly, the Islamic chronicles trace Mohammed's ancestry to the Futa Toro, no doubt attempting to dissociate him from his pagan relations.

Mohammed challenged Bakari Da'o to embrace Islam. When the latter refused, Mohammed challenged his authority with a considerably smaller military force. Bakari Da'o was routed, and Mohammed inherited the empire. Although he was a Moslem, Mohammed did not impose an Islamic administrative structure on Songhay; instead, he

retained the structure already established by Sonni Ali Ber. Mohammed made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1496. In Cairo, the caliph invested him and made him a deputy (*khalifa*) over the lands of Tekrur. Returning in 1498, Mohammed launched a *jihad* against the ruler of Yatenga but was unsuccessful. At the instigation of el Maghili, a Moslem teacher, he launched a series of *jihads*, mainly against Moslem states that, in his view, were backsliding in religious practice. These efforts resulted in tribute-paying satellites that were difficult to rule. In 1507-1509, Mohammed attacked what was once a province of Mali, the Galam region near the Falémé and Senegal rivers. He expanded his empire eastward into what is now Niger and Nigeria. Old and growing blind, Mohammed led a quiet life during the last 10 years of his reign. In 1529, his son Moussa dethroned him and became the Askia. Askia Mohammed died nine years later in 1538. He is fre-



quently referred to as Askia the Great and as Askia El Hadj Mohammed. *See* ASKIA; SONNI; SONNI ALI BER; SONGHAY EMPIRE.

#### ASKIA NOUH.

A son of Askia Daoud who was chosen Askia by the Songhay in 1592 after his brother Askia Mohammed Gao had been captured and executed by the Moroccans following a year-long reign. Nuh waged an effective military campaign against the Moroccans but was unable to drive them out of the western Sudan. He eventually retired to the Dendi, southeast of Gao, where he ruled an independent kingdom until 1599. At that time he was deposed by the Songhay and replaced by his brother Moustapha, who in turn was succeeded by several other Askias. *See* MOROCCAN INVASION; SONGHAY EMPIRE/ASKIA.

#### ASSIMILATION.

An explicit policy at times and a continuous cultural aim of France in its African colonies. Derived from eighteenth-century French enlightenment thinking, the goal of this effort was to have Africans educated to assimilate French culture. This policy was supported by a number of educated Malians during the early decades of the twentieth century because implicit in assimilation was the view that all men are equal. French culture was viewed as the highest ideal to which men could aspire. For Africans, the egalitarianism of assimilation offset the negative fact that African cultures were implicitly viewed as inferior to French culture. Africans accustomed to racism on the part of white colonials saw assimilation as a way of being treated as equals by their colonial masters.

Assimilation, first becoming official policy during the French Revolution, was abandoned when Napoleon permitted slavery; it

appeared again during the upheaval of 1848 and for much of the nineteenth century. The policy always conflicted with French racist attitudes, however.

During the immediate pre-World War I period, the French gradually abandoned the policy of assimilation. It was viewed as an absurd policy, given the size and geographic spread of France's overseas possessions, and it was eventually replaced by a policy of association. To some degree, assimilation stimulated the counter-philosophical reaction of *négritude* that was articulated in Paris during the 1930s by Léopold Sedar Senghor, Aimé Césaire, and Léon Damas.

#### ASSIMILE.

A term used, particularly in Senegal, to describe individuals who had sufficiently assimilated French culture to qualify for French citizenship. In pre-independence Mali, the term was used to describe educated Africans who had extensively assimilated French culture.

## ASSOCIATION.

A philosophy the French applied in their overseas colonies from the time just before World War I until the advent of independence.

According to the concept of association, African peoples and cultures through association with France had to evolve from their primitive state toward a highly civilized French ideal. Islamic civilization, a major challenger to France in many of its colonies, was viewed as an intermediate culture, which, while helpful to primitive Africans, would eventually be supplanted by far superior French values, industrial technology, and ways of life. Association became an acceptable alternative to assimilation when the absurdity of France's culturally and intellectually assimilating a vast imperial empire became apparent. To some extent, the policy of association provided a rationale for French imperialism, as well as for the use of governing methods that would have been unacceptable in republican France: forced labor, rule by decree, mandatory military conscription, and the absence of elections. Association also provided a rationale for the limitation of higher educational facilities in the French Sudan and other colonies. Since only a small number of assimilated Africans were needed to mediate between France and the masses of associated individuals, there was no need to provide secondary schools for large numbers of people. Most Sudanese preferred the policy of assimilation, either unaware of, or quietly accepting of its implied racism. Beginning in the 1930s, this preference shifted as political awareness grew and the notion of *négritude* became popular.

## ASSOCIATION DES ANCIENS COMBATTANTS.

An association of World War I and World War II veterans plus veterans of the Indochina war. After World War II, this group became a strong political force in the Sudan, especially in urban areas.

## ASSOCIATION DES ANCIENS ELEVES DU LYCEE

## TERRASSON DE FOUGERES.

A Sudanese alumni association that brought into existence the first Sudanese trade unions. Most graduates of this *Lycée* were teachers, headed by Mamadou Konaté, who established a teachers' union in 1937 after the Popular Front government legalized the formation of unions.

## ASSOCIATION DES ELEVES ET ETUDIANTS DU MALI (AEEM).

An unofficial students' union formed in 1990 which in concert with trade unions and prodemocracy groups helped bring down the regime of President Moussa Traoré on March 26, 1991. AEEM mobilized students in 1990 and early 1991 to campaign for better subsidies and employment opportunities after graduation, demands which the government could not meet. AEEM demonstrations coincided

with those of Mali's growing prodemocracy groups and trade unions, all of which shared some common objectives. Regular AEEM-organized demonstrations in January 1991 eventually led to the arrest of the group's secretary-general, Oumar Mariko. This in turn led to violent student riots in Bamako on January 21-22. Mariko was finally released on January 30, 1991.

AEEM demonstrations continued and on March 4, 1991, several thousand students peacefully marched in Bamako. However, on March 17, AEEM organized a march of many thousands of students and unemployed ex-students to mark the 11th anniversary of the death of Abdul Karim Camara, a former student leader. AEEM demanded better stipends and employment opportunities.

Despite the demonstrations, the government engaged in negotiations with students over the stipend and employment issues. To put pressure on the government, AEEM organized a two-day strike on March 21-22, 1991. On March 22, they joined prodemocracy groups and the unions in massive demonstrations that lasted two days and resulted in the death of 30 people. On March 23, in addition to destroying and burning government and private property, students seized the minister of education, Bakary Traoré, and clubbed him to death. They then burned his body. These violent demonstrations, in which students, ex-students, the unemployed, and hoodlums played a critical role, continued until the military intervened on March 25-26, 1991, and overthrew the regime of President Traoré. AEEM was subsequently represented on the Comité de Transition pour le Salut du Peuple (CTSP).

After Mali had elected a new president, Alpha Oumar Konaré, in 1992, students continued to campaign for better entitlements. Following several months of protests, they helped to bring down the

government of Prime Minister Younoussi Touré on April 9, 1993. During AEEM's protests, the National Assembly was set on fire, as well as President Konaré's home and those of other government ministers. The immediate spark for these actions was a belief that the government was attempting to organize a congress that would change the AEEM leadership. However, since the 1992 elections, students had been angry that government leaders had not lived up to campaign promises to provide them with increased stipends. Student protests were a factor in the fall of the government of Abdoulaye Sékou Sow on February 2, 1994.

Since the early 1980's students in Mali have acquired political power disproportionate to their numbers and importance. In a democratic Mali, their uncompromising demands for better entitlements are increasingly coming into conflict with the legitimate needs of the majority rural population, which is now well represented in a National

Assembly. *See* COUP D'ETAT, MARCH 25-26, 1991; PRODEMOCRACY MOVEMENT; STUDENT AND TEACHER STRIKES AND RIOTS (1979-1980).

ASSOCIATION DES LETTRES DU SOUDAN.

A nonpolitical, voluntary organization founded in 1937 by a school teacher, Mamby Sidibé. Although primarily a social organization, this association brought together the educated elite of the Sudan, including Mamadou Konaté and Modibo Keita. Shortly before World War II, the name of the association was changed to Foyer du Soudan; after the war, it became a union of the leading voluntary associations in Bamako. From these associations sprang the Sudanese political parties that developed after the war. *See* SIDIBE, MAMBY.

ATTAHER, ZAYD AG.

Tuareg leaders who led the revolt against the newly independent Malian government in 1962. *See* TUAREG REVOLT OF 1962; DIBY SILAS DIARRA.

AUDEOD, COL. H.M.

French military officer and administrator. In 1888, Audeod completed an overland journey from Siguri on the Niger to the coast, opening a Niger-to-the-Atlantic route. In 1898, in his capacity as lieutenant governor of the colony, Audeod attacked and captured Sikasso, the capital of the Kéné Dougou kingdom. Babemba, who was then king, committed suicide during the siege of the town. Audeod resigned as lieutenant governor in 1898 after a series of serious disagreements with his civilian administrative superiors.

AW, MAMADOU AMADOU (b. 1924).

Civil engineer and administrator. Born in Ségou, Aw graduated in 1944 from the Ecole Technique Supérieure de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, located in Bamako. From 1946 through 1951, he attended

the Ecole Speciale des Travaux Publique de Paris and received an engineering degree. From 1951 through 1957, he was an engineer for the public works department in Dakar, Senegal. From 1957 to 1959, he served as minister of public works of the Sudanese Republic and, from April 1959 until September 1960, he was minister of public works, transport, and telecommunications of the Mali federation. Named minister of public works, mines, housing and energy resources by President Modibo Keita in 1961, Aw held this post for several years, leaving it, finally, in 1968. In 1972, he was named a special advisor to the Executive Committee of the Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa. In 1976, he was appointed high commissioner of the Senegal River Development Authority (Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Sénégal).



## AZALAI.

Salt caravans that left Timbuctoo twice a year for the salt mines at Taoudenione departing at the beginning of the cool season in November, and another smaller one leaving at the end of that season in March. Until the 1940s, the larger caravan usually contained several thousand camels. Today, salt is brought back from Taoudeni by truck, and the availability of salt from other sources has greatly reduced the size of the Azalai. *See* TIMBUCTOO.

## AZAWAD.

A large area of sahel and desert in northern Mali covering the regions of Gao, Timbuctoo, and Kidal. It is primarily inhabited by the Tuareg and Maure. *See* TUAREG REVOLT, 1990-1992.

## B

### BA, AMADOU HAMPATE (d. 1992).

Historian and diplomat, Amadou Ba is well known for his historical and ethnographic studies of the Peul of Mali. During the regime of Modibo Keita, he served for several years as Mali's ambassador to the Ivory Coast. At the inception of Modibo Keita's cultural revolution in 1967, he was denounced and removed from office, remaining on the Ivory Coast and not returning to Mali until after the coup d'etat in 1968.

### BA, OUSMANE (b. 1919).

Diplomat, politician and physician. Ousmane Ba was born in Ségou and received his medical degree from the Ecole de Médecine in Dakar. Early in his career, he served as secretary to the Union of Physicians, Pharmacists, Midwives and Veterinarians of French West Africa and as a member of the directing bureau of Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire (UGTAN). Active in the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA), Ousmane Ba became Minister of

Public Function of Upper Volta from May 1957 to December 1958. After serving as minister delegated to the president's office of the provisional government of the Sudanese Republic from December 1958 to April 1959, he became minister of labor, public function, and social security of the federation of Mali (April 4, 1959-August 20, 1959). In 1961, Modibo Keita appointed Ba minister of public function and social laws, then minister of the interior, information, and tourism (1962), and finally minister delegated to foreign affairs (1964). He held that last post until November 19, 1968, when he was arrested during the military coup d'etat. An intimate of President Modibo Keita, Ousmane Ba played an influential role in government and was closely associated with Keita's cultural revolution, launched in August 1967. As a leader of the radical left ideologues, Ba opposed Modibo Keita's replacement, in high government positions, of ideologues with technocrats. Beginning in 1968, he

was held in detention for several years and then released. He subsequently lived in Paris.

#### BABEMBA TRAORE.

The last king of the Kéné Dougou kingdom (1893-1898). In 1898, the French attacked and captured his capital of Sikasso. Babemba committed suicide toward the end of the siege. *See* KÉNÉDOUGOU KINGDOM.

#### BAFOULABE.

A *cercle* in the *région* of Kayes in western Mali covering 20,000 square kilometers. Bafoulabé has a population of 120,000 people, most of whom are Malinké. The *chef-lieu* is Bafoulabé, located at the confluence of the Bafing and the Bakoy rivers. It is a region of subsistence agriculture.

#### BAGAYOKO, LT. COL. TIECORO (1937-1983).

Born in Goundam, Bagayoko trained as a pilot in the Malian army. He was among the army officers who organized the coup d'etat in 1968 against Modibo Keita, assisting in the arrest of the former president outside of Koulikoro on November 19, 1968. Until February 28, 1978, he served as a member of the Military Committee of National Liberation (CMLN) and as director of security services. At that time, he was arrested by President Moussa Traoré on charges of plotting a coup d'etat along with Lt. Col. Kissima Doukara, minister of defense, interior, and security, and Lt. Col. Karim Dembélé, minister of transport and public works.

The alleged leader of this plot was Doukara, a man who strongly opposed the president's plans for power sharing with civilians. On January 3, 1978, a crisis was precipitated when President Traoré confronted Doukara with convincing evidence that he had misappropriated enormous sums of relief funds sent for the victims of

Mali's drought. When Doukara refused to step down from his ministerial post, the president was unable to obtain support for Doukara's dismissal from a majority of the military committee. Doukara, Bagayoko, Dembélé, and other military leaders then allegedly collaborated on a plan to overthrow the president. The plot was uncovered and the three coup leaders arrested. Bagayoko, who had served as director of security services since 1968, was widely feared and detested for his bully-boy tactics and his particularly harsh treatment of both arrested members of the Keita regime and 1977 student protestors. His security forces also contributed to his unpopularity by meddling in the daily lives of Malians. Bagayoko himself was an individual of limited intellectual capacity who not only enjoyed the perquisites of power but flaunted them in public.

On October 21, 1978, a special state security court sentenced

Doukara and Bagayoko to death for plotting a coup d'etat and revealing state secrets. Two other members of the military committee were tried with them Lt. Col. Karim Dembélé, former minister of transport and public works, and Col. Charles Samba Sissoko, former minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, who was arrested in March of 1978. The former was sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment at hard labor; the latter, five years of the same. Fourteen individuals were acquitted and 23 received sentences ranging from 15 years at hard labor to six months in prison.

Bagayoko's troubles did not end. In December 1978, a national commission of inquiry was instituted to study the corrupt financial operations of not only the officers arrested early in the year but of one civilian as well. The formation of this commission became a prelude to a second trial in which Bagayoko was accused of economic crimes against the state. It was also a shrewd political move; in impoverished Mali the exposure and punishment of large-scale embezzlement was sure to win over widespread popular support. In a peculiar twist of circumstances, Lt. Col. Joseph Mara, a former minister of justice, chairman of the commission, and a member of the military committee, was himself arrested and charged with corruption and the acceptance of bribes, during the course of his duties on the commission.

The second trial was held in Timbuctoo, during which the defense counsel, Jean Paul Chevrier, died suddenly. On March 9, 1979, that state security court sentenced Doukara to death for embezzling \$9 million worth of relief aid. Bayayoko received five years at hard labor; Dembélé, 10 years; Joseph Mara, 20 years. Four others were acquitted. The arrest and sentencing of both Doukara and Bagayoko won widespread popular support; both were disliked, as well as feared, for their misuse of power. Both men enjoyed personal power and its perquisites and, in the view of some, access to huge sums of

money which over several years, according to the state security trial, amounted to 10% of Mali's annual budget. Doukara and Bagayoko were confined at the Taoudeni salt mines where they died in late 1983.

#### BAKARI (ALI) COULIBALY.

A son of Biton Coulibaly. He ruled Ségou for only 15 days in 1757 before he and most of the Coulibaly family were murdered by the *ton djon*. He had studied Arabic in Timbuctoo under Mohammed el Kunti and had converted to Islam. Coulibaly probably attempted to introduce, among the animist Bambara, an uncompromising form of Islam, which included the prohibition of drinking alcoholic beverages, a favorite pastime of the *ton djon*. With him the Coulibaly dynasty came to an end. See COULIBALY DYNASTY; SÉGOU KINGDOM; BITON COULIBALY.

### BAKARI DIAN KONE.

Famous Bambara warrior and folk hero of the Ségou Bambara kingdom, he was a war chief under Da Monzon, a king who ruled from about 1808 to 1827. Bakari Dian was chief of the *ton djon*, the standing army of the Ségou Bambara kingdom. His exploits are sung in several Bambara epics. He is heralded for his conquests of the Peul and of Bilissi, a foe of the Ségou kingdom. Bakari Dian is the greatest hero of the Bambara people; his name and exploits are remembered today in almost every Bambara village.

### BA LOBBO BARI.

Nephew of Cheikou Amadou and older cousin of Amadou Cheikou, who succeeded the latter as head of the *dina* (Islamic state). Because Ba Lobbo was older than Amadou Cheikou, he expected to inherit the leadership of the *dina* from Cheikou Amadou. He was doubly disappointed and resentful when in 1852 Amadou Cheikou abdicated and insured the succession for his son Amadou Amadou.

Ba Lobbo was a gifted orator and superb military commander whose solidarity with Amadou Amadou in 1862 might have led to the defeat of the Tukulor. As it was, Ba Lobbo and another senior cousin, Abdul Salam, withheld their full military support of Amadou Amadou, seeing in a Tukulor victory a chance of assuming their rightful role as leaders of the *dina* once Amadou had been put aside.

After Amadou Amadou had been put to death by El Hadj Omar in 1862, Ba Lobbo and Abdul Salam saw their hopes dashed when Omar brought his son Amadou in to rule Macina. They then resolved to fight the Tukulor and to gain by force what their previous strategy had failed to deliver. When Omar learned of their plot to join forces with Sidi el Bekaye, chief of the Kounta Arabs of Timbuctoo, he had them arrested. They escaped and joined forces with Sidi el Bekaye, who

was being besieged by the Tukulor. In retaliation, Omar ordered the execution of the members of the Bari dynasty in his custody at Hamdallaye; he also ordered the execution of Ali Diarra, the *fama* of Ségou. This decree worsened the situation and led to massive uprisings. On February 12, 1864, Ba Lobbo's army was finally able to surround El Hadj Omar near Déguembéré. The bush was set on fire and Omar was killed in the conflagration. Although Ba Lobbo was never able to dislodge the Tukulor from Macina, he did come to rule a substantial area of the former *dina*. See PEUL EMPIRE OF MACINA.

#### BAMAKO.

(1) The capital of Mali situated along the upper Niger. Its present population is about 800,000, a considerable increase over the estimated 1960 population of 120,000. Until 1968, the city was confined mostly to the left bank of the river. Since that time due to the pressure of population growth the city has expanded remarkably,



absorbing along its right bank the small villages once located there. When Mungo Park passed through Bamako in 1806, he found a small Bozo fishing village and trading center of 6,000. The town was captured by Borgnis-Desbordes in 1883. In 1904, the railroad was completed between Bamako and Kayes, and, in 1908, the capital of the Haut Sénégal-Niger Colony was transferred from Kayes to Bamako. Always an important trading center and entrepôt, Bamako is now the commercial and administrative capital of Mali. The city is divided into a number of quarters, called *quartiers*, of which there are more than 20. Most of the buildings are made of mud brick, especially those in the residential quarters. In sharp contrast to many other African capitals, Bamako retains a decidedly traditional lifestyle. The city is currently divided into six districts.

(2) A former *cercle* that covered 16,300 square kilometers and that was dissolved during the 1977 administrative reform. Except for its former central *arrondissement*, the Bamako *cercle* became, in 1977, the Kati *cercle*.

(3) A former *région* that covered 90,100 square kilometers and had seven *cercles*: Nara, Banamba, Kolokani, Koulikoro, Bamako, Kangaba, and Dioila. Most of the *région*, except for the former central *arrondissement* of Bamako *cercle*, became in 1977 the Koulikoro region.

(4) An autonomous district that was once the central *arrondissement* of the Bamako *cercle*. The district was established during the 1977 administrative reform and has a total population of close to 600,000 people.

BAMANA.

See BAMBARA.

## BAMBARA.

The largest ethnic group in Mali and, in a sociopolitical sense, the most important. The Bambara, also known as the Bamana, number 3,000,000 (30% of Mali's population). Their homeland comprises an inverted equilateral triangular area in the central part of the country; it stretches from Nara and Nioro in the north to the Ivory Coast border in the south. The Bambara are primarily sedentary agriculturists. A Manding people, they developed powerful kingdoms at Ségou and Kaarta. Many are converting to Islam, although in many areas their traditional culture and religion are adhered to. Their language, Bamana-ka, is the lingua franca in much of Mali. The Bambara dominate much of the country administratively and politically.

## BAMBOUK.

A large *région* that lies in the area bounded by the Falémé and Bafing rivers in western Mali. Today, most of Bambouk lies in the

modern administrative *cercle* of Kenieba where gold is still mined. Bambouk and Bouré, along with the Lobi and Ashanti fields, were confusingly called Wangara by a number of early Arab geographers and travelers. Edrisi, the twelfth-century Arab geographer, described Wangara as an island 300 miles long and 150 miles wide surrounded by the Nile. In retrospect, this description of the Bambouk is not too far from correct; the *région*'s area approximates these dimensions and, of course, the Falémé and Bafing rivers do bound it.

The Portuguese succeeded in reaching Bambouk in 1550, but their numbers rapidly decreased. They died of illness, slaughtered one another over the gold fields, or were killed by the local inhabitants. French traders began penetrating the Bambouk area in the eighteenth century. In 1714, they constructed a fort on the Falémé River called Saint Pierre. The *Compagnie du Sénégal* that constructed this fort later sold its holdings to the *Compagnie des Indes*. In 1724, the French set up two trading posts in the Bambouk, one of them near the gold mines at Tambaoura. Attempts to exploit the gold fields between 1730 and 1736 proved as unrewarding as those attempts undertaken in 1715. The two trading posts were abandoned in 1732 after the mineralogist Pelay was assassinated. Saint Pierre and other forts were abandoned in 1759 during the French-English War. In the early nineteenth century, French traders made a few attempts to do business in Bambouk. Leblanc moved up the Falémé in 1820. In 1824, he set up a post on the Falémé on behalf of the *Société de Galam*. The post was abandoned in 1841.

The Bambouk became a vassal state, first of Ghana and then of Mali, but the *région* never became an important political entity. See BOURE; GOLD TRADE; WANGARA.

BANAMBA.

A *cercle* of the *région* of Koulikoro covering 7,700 square kilometers and possessing a population of 100,000; most of its inhabitants are Bambara subsistence farmers. The northern part of the *cercle* lies in the Sahel where the Peul and Maure raise goats, sheep, and cattle.

#### BANDE DES TROIS.

This phrase was used in 1978 by the government of Moussa Traoré to describe the three members of the military committee who were accused of allegedly plotting to assassinate the president and seize power. See COUP D'ETAT, PLANNED, 1978.

#### BANDIAGARA.

A *cercle* of the Mopti *région* which encompasses much of the Dogon country and the Bandiagara plateau and cliffs. The *cercle's* population numbers 175,000. Most of the inhabitants are Dogon. There are a small number of Peul nomads. The *cercle* is one of

subsistence agriculture, but in recent years, the Dogon have produced large quantities of onions for the cash market.

El Hadj Omar disappeared near Déguembéré and, in 1893, Archinard conquered the Dogon country and installed Aguibu Tall, a Tukulor, as king of Macina. The *cercle* of Bandiagara was first created in 1909, disbanded in 1935 and re-created in 1948. There are eight *arrondissements*, the best known being Sanga, today a tourist attraction made famous by the studies of French anthropologist Marcel Griaule.

#### BANIMOUNINTIE.

A traditional area of Bambara country lying between the headwaters of the Bani River and the banks of the Niger. It covers parts of the present-day *cercles* of Bougouni and Dioila.

#### BANINKO.

A traditional area lying along the banks of the Bani River in southeastern Mali. Baninko lies in the *cercles* of Dioila, Ségou, and Koutiala. It literally means "country around the rivers." After the fall of Ségou, the Bambara of this region waged a protracted war with the French.

#### BANKASS.

A small *cercle* of the Mopti *région* situated between the Bandiagara plateau and the Burkina Faso frontier. Most of the population is Dogon, but there are small numbers of Peul herdsmen. Bankass covers 6,875 square kilometers and in 1994 had a population of close to 190,000.

#### BARI DYNASTY.

A dynasty of three rulers who ruled Macina: Cheikou Amadou Bari (1800-1844), Amadou Cheikou (1844-1852), and Amadou Amadou

(1852-1862). The last was overthrown and executed by El Hadj Omar Tall, who conquered Macina. See CHEIKOU AMADOU; AMADOU CHEIKOU; AMADOU AMADOU; PEUL EMPIRE OF MACINA.

BAROUELI.

A *cercle* of the Ségou *région* created during the 1977 administrative reform. Baroueli consists of four *arrondissements* and has a total population of 110,000. Formerly, Baroueli was an *arrondissement* of the *cercle* of Ségou. It is a rich cotton-producing area.

BARTH, HEINRICH (1821-1865).

Renowned German explorer. Barth was born in Hamburg and educated at Berlin University where he graduated in 1844. After studying Arabic in London in 1845, he traveled from Tangiers across North Africa to Egypt and then on into Palestine, Asia Minor, and Greece. Barth returned to Berlin in 1847. In 1850, he and Adolf Overweg, a Prussian astronomer, were chosen

to join James Richardson (a British explorer who had been selected by the British government) to open up commercial relations with west and central Africa. The men left Tripoli in early 1850. Richardson died in March 1851; Overweg, in September 1852, leaving Barth to continue alone.

After crossing the Sahara, Barth traversed the country between Lake Chad and Bagirmi. He then made prolonged visits to the sultanates and emirates of Bornu, Kano, Gwandu, Nupe, and Sokoto in modern Northern Nigeria and Cameroon. Traveling westward across what is now Niger, he crossed the Niger River at Say and moved through the country of the Niger Bend in the modern administrative *cercles* of Douentza and Gourma-Rharous. (Barth was the first European to describe the Hombori Mountains and the Dogon people.) He traveled into the region of the great lakes of the inland delta of the Niger and then on to Timbuctoo, arriving there on September 7, 1853. Barth remained in Timbuctoo for eight months under the protection of Sidi el Bekaye, chief of the Kunta Arabs. Upon leaving the city, he journeyed under Sidi el Bekaye's protection, along the banks of the Niger and across Bourém, Gao, and Ansongo, of which he later wrote detailed descriptions. Traveling back into what is now northern Nigeria, he returned to Europe in 1855.

Barth was a remarkable traveler and scholar. His detailed observations of local topography, history, resources, and culture were recorded in his monumental work, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa (1857-58)*. Containing the first detailed descriptions of the Niger Bend and of Timbuctoo, this book is of great historical value.

BAYOL, DR.

See GALLIENI.

BELEDOUGOU.

That part of the Bambara country to the northwest of the Niger River. BéléDougou covers the modern administrative *cercles* of Kolokani, Koulikoro, Banamba, and parts of Nara. The Bambara of BéléDougou were historically a loose confederation of chiefdoms. Literally translated, BéléDougou means "country of the gravel."

BERABICH.

A group of Maure who live in northern Mali to the northwest of Timbuctoo. They number about 40,000. *See* KUNTA.

BINGER, LOUIS GUSTAVE (1856-1936).

French military officer, explorer, colonial administrator, and businessman. Binger worked under Faidherbe as an orderly and assisted him in writing his linguistic publications. In 1887, he was sent out on an exploratory mission into what is now southern Mali, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, and Ghana.



Binger passed through Ouléssébougou, Bougouni, and had an audience with Samory. He visited Sikasso, Kong, Bobo Diolasso, and Ouagadougou. He then traversed northern Ghana and the Ivory Coast. In 1889, his mission met one headed by Marcel Treich-Laplène; together, the two men headed for the coast. The purpose of Binger's mission was to survey commercial prospects in the regions he was exploring and to sign commercial treaties with local chiefs and kings. Binger's book describing this expedition is a travel classic. Binger later became governor of the Ivory Coast and served as a member on the Commission for the Reorganization of French Africa. From July 20, 1893 (when he arrived in the Ivory Coast as governor), until 1897, Binger spent no more than 19 out of nearly 50 months in the Ivory Coast, partly because of ill health and partly because of an unwillingness to live any longer in West Africa. It was mostly from Paris that Binger ran his colony. In 1897, he was appointed directeur d'Afrique in the Ministry of Colonies, but retained his title of governor. That year, he was finally given the pension he had long sought and subsequently devoted himself to private business interests. Binger held shares in mining concessions in West Africa and was a director of the Compagnie de l'Ouest Africain Français, which was involved in gold mining.

#### BISSANDOUGOU, TREATY OF.

A treaty signed by Samory and the French in 1887 recognizing French control of the lands on the left bank of the Niger. This treaty, negotiated by Captain Peroz, was repudiated by Samory in 1889. The Treaty of Bissandougou was a temporary expedient for both sides. Using it, the French thwarted the aims of local British officials in Sierra Leone who were urging their government to declare a protectorate over Samory's domains. The treaty gave Samory a temporary respite in his battles with the French and a free hand to

attack Tieba of Kéné Dougou. Its signing was facilitated by the previous 1886 Treaty of Kenieba-Koura that existed between Samory and the French and was negotiated by Tournier. This latter treaty was not accepted by France because in it Samory agreed merely to not engage in any hostile act in French-claimed territory.

BITON COULIBALY. One of the greatest of the Bambara rulers of Ségou who became king around 1712. In the seventeenth century the Ségou area was a dependency of Djenné, which owed allegiance to the Moroccans in Timbuctoo. The Soninké held political power. Biton, the son of a non-Moslem farmer, became leader of an age-set association, known then and now as *ton*. By directing the activities of the *ton*, he was able to enlarge its membership and capital wealth, which he then used to buy slaves (*djon*). Through raiding and the collection

of tribute, the *ton* became not only a powerful political force but also a military one. Biton reduced the status of the free men in the *ton* to that of slave (*djon*). With this military force, the *ton djon*, he was able to challenge the Soninké and eventually conquer them. Many captives were sold into slavery.

Biton enlarged the *ton djon* by paying fines for men and then absorbing the men into it. Eventually the *ton djon* became a permanent standing army loyal to Biton Coulibaly. The army moved easily into the power vacuum left by the fall of Songhay and the declining Mali empire. The sons of *ton djon* also became *ton djon*, thus making the rank hereditary. Biton gradually expanded his kingdom along the right bank of the Niger. Mercilessly, he drove out competitive Bambara clans: the Diarra, Traoré, and a senior line of Coulibaly known as Massassi. The latter fled northwest to Kaarta where they founded a second Bambara kingdom. Biton had the Somono fishermen build a large flotilla of canoes. Giving them a monopoly to fish on the Niger, he used them for transporting troops.

Eventually Biton conquered all of Macina. In the west, his domain extended into BéléDougou and to Mourdiah. The man was a military genius, a gifted administrator, and a charismatic leader who was able to build a powerful kingdom in the void left by the fall of Songhay and the decline of Mali. Biton's powerful state was economically based on supplying slaves for the Atlantic slave trade and on agriculture. According to oral traditions, Biton Coulibaly died of tetanus in 1755. He was known as the *fama*, a title meaning "king" in Bambara and used Ségou-Koro as his capital. See SEGOU KINGDOM; KAARTA KINGDOM; COULIBALY DYNASTY; MASSASSI DYNASTY.

BLA.

A *cercle* of the Ségou *région* in central Mali created during the 1977 administrative reform. Bla consists of five *arrondissements*, which, formerly, were part of the *cercles* of San, Koutiala, and Ségou. It has a population of 125,000 people, most of whom are subsistence farmers. The *chef-lieu* is Bla, a large village situated at the bifurcation of the roads from Ségou to San and Koutiala.

#### BLOC SOUDANAIS.

A political party founded by Mamadou Konaté and Modibo Keita around 1945. By 1946, the party had become the Union Soudanaise.

#### BOBO.

An ethnic group of about 180,000 Malian people who live in the *cercles* of San and Tominian. The Bobo are much more numerous in Burkina Faso and divided into four large fractions, which are known by different names by other ethnic groups. The two largest fractions

are known in Bambara as *Bobo-fing* (black bobo) and *Bobo-ulé* (red bobo). The former is also called Bwa. The Bobo in Mali are primarily Bobo-uléfarmers who, to a remarkable degree, have retained their traditional religious beliefs and customs. Many, especially those in the *arrondissement* of Mandiakuy, have become Christians. They are thought by some to be descendants of the Soninké diaspora which existed after the fall of the Ghana empire.

#### BOBO REVOLT OF 1916.

Reacting against French policies of forced labor and conscription into the army, the Bobo in the *cercle* of San revolted briefly in 1916. The revolt was quickly put down by the French and some of its leaders hanged at Tominian.

#### BOCOUM, BAREMA (b. 1914).

Administrator and politician, born in Mopti and graduated from the Ecole William Ponty in 1936. Prior to Mali's independence in 1960, Bocoum served in a number of political and administrative positions: municipal counselor, Bamako, 1953; territorial counselor from Mopti, 1954 to 1957; deputy in the French National Assembly, July 1956-March 1959; municipal counselor and mayor of Mopti, November 1956-1968; and deputy to the Provisional Legislative Assembly of the Sudanese Republic, 1957-1958. Serving consecutively as a deputy to the Legislative Assembly of the Sudanese Republic and the National Assembly of Mali, Bocoum held other important political offices and was a member of the Bureau Politique National of the Union Soudanaise-RDA. He served as minister delegated to the president's office for foreign affairs and was appointed minister of the interior on September 16, 1964, holding this position until 1966. In 1967, during the cultural revolution, he was severely criticized for being antisocialist, bourgeois, and an enemy of the people. Early in 1968, he was driven from his political offices in disgrace and, until rescued

politically by the November 19, 1968, coup d'etat, was declared a foe of the Modibo Keita regime.

#### BODIAN MORIBA.

The greatest of the Massassi kings of Kaarta, ruling from 1818 to 1832. Under Bodian Moriba, Kaarta reached its zenith. He moved his capital to Yelimané and sent successful military missions into Galam, Saloum, Bondou, and Bambouk. He made peace with Demba Sega of Khasso, who had fought several previous Kaarta kings. Demba Sega founded Médine at this time. It was during the reign of Bodian Moriba that the British explorers Gray and Dochart visited Khasso, Kaarta, and adjacent areas. These explorers provided vivid detailed descriptions of the wars then in progress between Bodian Moriba and his neighbors. *See* KAARTA KINGDOM; GRAY and DOCHARD; TABLE 4.

BOISSON, PIERRE.

French administrator who served as secretary-general of the government of French West Africa in 1936 and later, between 1940 and 1943, as high commissioner for all of French West and Central Africa under the Vichy Government. Under Boisson's administration, all political activities in French West Africa were suppressed. Boisson was removed from office during the Allied invasion of North Africa.

BONNIER, LT. COL. EUGENE.

A native of the island of Reunion, who joined the naval artillery at a young age and saw service in Tonkin before coming to the Sudan in 1893 as *commandant-supérieur*, replacing Archinard. Like most of the French military officers who served in West Africa, Bonnier was ambitious, headstrong, and disdainful of civilian superiors. Even before leaving France, he had decided to ride to fame and glory by capturing Timbuctoo for France. On December 12, 1893, after being in the Sudan less than several weeks, he captured Bougouni from the forces of Samory. But this sort of victory was insufficient in his eyes to raise him to the level of men like Archinard and Borgnis Desbordes, the soldier who captured Bamako and under whom Bonnier had served as an orderly in Tonkin. After the Bougouni campaign, Bonnier decided to take Timbuctoo.

He calculated this would be relatively easy to do since Timbuctoo was not surrounded by a wall and did not have a standing army defending it. His sole opposition consisted of marauding bands of Tuareg nomads whom he believed could be dealt with by sufficient military force. Unfortunately for Bonnier, Albert Grodet, the newly appointed civilian governor of the Sudan, arrived in Kayes on December 26, 1893, and would not permit such a military expedition. Bonnier left Ségou the same day for Timbuctoo with a force of 204 Sénégalaise *tirailleurs*, nine European NCO's, 13 officers, and two 80 mm

cannons. He sailed in a flotilla of long canoes, having sent Lt. H. Gaston Boiteaux, commander of the small French flotilla on the Niger, ahead with two gunboats. A second column under Major Joffre, future commander in chief of the French army, set out by land on December 28, 1893, with 400 men, two companies of *tirailleurs*, a battery of 80 mm guns, 700 native porters, and 200 horses and mules.

Bonnier was scarcely downstream from Ségou when a message arrived informing him that Grodet was now in charge. Bonnier replied that he was on an inspection tour of the northern frontier areas. He knew that his letter would take several days to reach Kayes, by which time he would be well on his way to Timbuctoo. Four days out of Ségou, Bonnier arrived in Mopti, where he learned that Boiteaux had impetuously set out for Timbuctoo in the two small gunboats.

Boiteaux



was both reckless and insubordinate; he was probably trying to beat Bonnier to Timbuctoo in order to gain the glory for himself. Bonnier was furious, and on January 1, 1894, he promptly set out after Boiteaux, but in the slower canoes. Meanwhile Grodet ordered Bonnier back. But now Bonnier had a legitimate reason for proceeding, namely, that he had to rescue Boiteaux, who, on December 28, 1893, had arrived at Kabara, the port of Timbuctoo. Joffre was also ordered back, but he refused to obey, unwilling to leave his fellow officers in the lurch. Boiteaux had walked into Timbuctoo from several miles away with four Europeans and several black African sailors. While he was in the town, the Tuareg attacked his docked boats and killed 17 men, including Ensign Aube. Meanwhile, Grodet learned that Bonnier had been planning this expedition since November; on January 5, 1894, he relieved both Bonnier and Joffre of their commands. But the orders arrived too late. Bonnier's flotilla sailed into Kabara on January 10, 1894. Bonnier left one company of *tirailleurs* in Kabara and marched into Timbuctoo with the other, where he confronted the unrepentant Boiteaux. Boiteaux went so far as to swear at his commander. He was confined to quarters for 30 days; the punishment was mild, considering his insubordination. On January 10, 1894, Bonnier left Timbuctoo with a group of *tirailleurs* and marched southwest to Goundam to rendezvous with Joffre. Two days later, nearly 50 miles out, they came upon a Tuareg camp and confiscated approximately 500 sheep. Although this provoked the Tuareg, taking the sheep kept the African *tirailleurs* happy and less prone to mutiny.

On January 14, 1894, Bonnier's column had minor skirmishes with bands of Tuareg then camped at Tacoubao, near Goundam. About four in the morning, on January 15, the men were attacked by a large body of camel-mounted Tuareg. The attack caught Bonnier and his men by

surprise; during the ensuing battle 11 officers, two European NCOs, the interpreter, and 68 *tirailleurs* lost their lives. Bonnier, too, was killed. Several survivors returned to Timbuctoo. Boiteaux and the remainder of Bonnier's forces in Timbuctoo left by river and reached Goundam on February 2, 1894, where they met Joffre's column. Joffre moved to Timbuctoo, arriving at the scene of the battle on February 8, and spending the next day identifying the dead and preparing the bodies of the French for return to Timbuctoo for burial. Joffre and his forces reached Timbuctoo on February 12, 1894.

#### BORDER DISPUTE WITH UPPER VOLTA (1974-1975).

In November 1974, Mali and Upper Volta accused one another of a border incursion along the frontier which, in Mali, constitutes the limits of the *cercle* of Douentza. The contested area is in dry sahel but may contain

mineral wealth. Incurring few casualties, the two armies clashed; serious riots occurred in Bobo-Dioulasso, Upper Volta, where Malians were hunted down and killed. No one is sure of the exact death toll attributable to these riots, but it is estimated that a few dozen men were killed. The riots were triggered by the false rumor that Malians were killing Voltaics in Bamako. The Organization of African Unity was unable to settle the dispute. A tentative agreement was reached by the two sides in 1975, following the intervention of the heads of state of Togo, Niger, Sénégal, and Guinea. Sekou Touré of Guinea finally brought the two sides together, but the problem remained unresolved. In 1983, Thomas Sankara, a Voltaic military officer who had gained fame for his field role in the 1974 to 1975 border clashes, visited Mali in his capacity as president of Upper Volta. He and Moussa Traoré agreed to submit their dispute to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. *See* WAR WITH BURKINA FASO (1985).

#### BORGNIS-DESCORDES, GEN. GUSTAVE.

French military officer and colonial administrator. In 1879, Borgnis-Desbordes was appointed *commandant-supérieur* du Haut-Fleuve and lieutenant governor of the Upper Sénégal. Under him, the French moved from Medine, in western Mali, to the Niger by means of a series of military campaigns conducted against the Tukulor empire and Samory. He captured Bamako in February 1883 and later served as an advisor to the colonial department. His protégé was Archinard, whose military campaigns he supported. *See* ARCHINARD; GALLIENI.

#### BOUGOUNI.

A large *cercle* in the *région* of Sikasso covering 19,100 square kilometers and having a population of close to 250,000 people, most of whom are subsistence farmers. The *chef-lieu* of the *cercle* is the town of Bougouni, whose population is about 12,000.

## BOURE.

A region that lies on the northern banks of the Tinkisso River, north and northwest of the town of Siguri in present-day Guinea. Bouré and the Bambouk, which lies to the northwest, were once the major gold-producing areas of the western Sudan. Historical evidence suggests that in the eleventh to twelfth centuries, Bouré replaced the Bambouk as the western Sudan's principal gold field.

During the colonial era, Africans working for themselves continued to mine these alluvial and residual lateritic placer deposits. In the 1930s, the yield was one to three grams per cubic meter of soil. Prior to Guinea's independence, some 70,000 people worked the area, half of whom were professional miners. The others were farmers who, like the professionals, worked in pits and shallow galleries during the dry season, January to July. At that time, a family was able to produce 200

grams (6.4 oz) of gold a season. Between April and June, the alluvium of large rivers is still exploited by women washing for gold. Closer to Mali, where gold is found along the Sankarani River in quartz, women pulverize the stone and wash for the metal. See WANGARA; GOLD TRADE.

#### BOUREM.

A *cercle* of the Gao *région* situated where the Niger makes its great bend. The population of 110,000 comprises Tuareg and Maure nomads and Songhay farmers. The people are divided into four *arrondissements*, of which Bamba is one of the most important.

#### BOZO.

A small ethnic group of fishermen of the middle Niger who number about 40,000. Many believe that the Bozo are descendants of Soninké people who left the Ghana empire after its fall and migrated southeastwards to the Niger. The population is organized into clans that move up and down the Niger and Bani rivers on a regular, seasonal basis. During recent years, Mopti fishermen have organized into fishing cooperatives; they use outboard motors and modern refrigeration and curing techniques. Their annual catch constitutes one of Mali's principal exports.

#### BRIERE DE L'ISLE, COLONEL LOUIS-ALEXANDRE.

Governor of Sénégal from 1876 through 1881. He revived Faidherbe's plan for the conquest of the western Sudan. The basis for this conquest was to be the construction of a railway between the navigable portions of the Sénégal and Niger rivers. Brière de l'Isle sent Gallieni on a diplomatic mission to Amadou Tall of Ségou and under him Borgnis Desbordes militarily took Bamako. Brière de l'Isle realized that France would eventually have to confront the Tukulor empire militarily and prepared to do just that. His initial diplomatic

overtures to the Tukulor were carefully calculated plans to temporize and to build up support in France for financing the ultimate military operations. Brière de l'Isle was recalled in 1881. During the following decade, his plans began to become reality and eventually led to the military conquest of the western Sudan.

#### BUREAU POLITIQUE NATIONAL (BPN).

The operative directing body of the Union Soudanaise-RDA. The BPA included 19 members, 17 of them elected by a party congress every three years. The president of the government and the president of the National Assembly were automatically members. In addition to the 19 members, there were nine commissioners. Along with the party's national conference, the BPN organized the work of the party between congresses. It was dissolved in 1967 by Modibo Keita.

## C

## CADI.

Also known as *al qada* the judges of Timbuctoo and Djenné. The post first evolved in the pre-Askia period of the Songhay Empire; later, it assumed enormous importance. The cadis were both the representatives of state authority in Timbuctoo and the spokesmen for the city before the ruler. Most cadis were natives to their respective cities and from prominent families. Even during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the position continued to be important in both Timbuctoo and Djenné; cadis had important influence in judicial, legislative, and executive matters. At times, the Ruma had little influence on the selection of cadis. The position survived into the twentieth century and, in Timbuctoo, over several centuries, was passed among the members of several leading families.

## CAILLIE, RENE AUGUSTE (1799-1838).

Renowned French explorer. Caillié was one of the first Europeans to reach Timbuctoo. Born in Mauze, France, he traveled to Senegal at the age of 16 where, among other things, he carried supplies to the Gray-Dochard expedition in Bondou. After a stay in France and Guadeloupe, Caillié returned to Senegal, determined to get to Timbuctoo. Toward this end, he spent eight months with the Brakna Maure learning Arabic and being educated as a Moslem. Dressed as a Moslem and stating that he was an Arab from Egypt who had been enslaved by Christians, he started inland from Kakundi on April 19, 1827, and traveled across Guinea to Kouroussa and then to Kong with Manding trade caravans. For five months, he was delayed by illness in the village of Tiémé, located near present-day Odienné in the northern Ivory Coast. The illness he suffered from was probably scurvy.

In January 1828, he traveled overland with a caravan heading

northeastward over present-day southern Mali, passing Sienso near the town of San. He arrived in Djenné in March 1828; after a short stay, he traveled down the Niger River toward Timbuctoo and reached Lake Debo on April 2, 1828. On April 20, 1828, he entered Timbuctoo, where he remained until May 4. Then, joining a caravan that was crossing the Sahara, he reached Fégou on August 12, 1828, went on to Tangiers, and returned to France. Caillié was the first European known to reach Timbuctoo and return alive. He also was the first European to write a detailed description of the city.

CARON, LT. J.E.

French military officer who, in 1887, under the direction of Gallieni, led a small mission down the Niger to Timbuctoo. Sailing on a small gunboat called the *Niger*, Caron arrived at Kouriumé a riverpost of Timbuctoo. He was unable to achieve his goal of



obtaining treaties from Tijani of Macina and the grand council of Timbuctoo and had to return upstream. Caron wrote a number of articles about the Niger River.

#### CATHOLICISM.

During the late nineteenth century, the White Fathers established the first Catholic missions in the Sudan's Kayes *région*. By 1895, a mission had gone as far eastward as Timbuctoo. Out of Mali's total nine million people, at the present time there are about 70,000 Catholics. The most converts have been made among the Bobo people of the *cercles* of San and Tominian. There are five dioceses Kayes, Mopti, San, Ségou, and Sikasso and one archdiocese, Bamako. One hundred sixty resident priests and 150 sisters operate approximately 65 educational institutions, not including dispensaries. Although the Catholic church has steadily maintained strict noninvolvement in political matters, in October 1990 Archbishop Luc Sangaré of Bamako urged President Traoré to permit multiparty democracy. Pope John Paul II visited Mali on January 28-29, 1990.

#### CHEIKOU AMADOU (1755-1844).

A Moslem cleric who, in 1810, led a religious revolt against the Diallo king Hamadi-Diko of Macina. Cheikou Amadou's army defeated the combined forces of Hamadi-Diko and the Bambara king of Segou, Da Monson Diarra, at Noukouma. His *jihad* in the Macina was successful in an extremely brief period of time, starting as a preaching campaign against the pagan kings of Macina and Segou. He established a *dina* (Islamic state) in Macina. Born Amadou Lobbo, the latter being the name of his mother, he was a member of the Bari clan of Peul from Fitouka and studied under his father at Yougoumsirou. In 1800, Cheikou Amadou traveled to what is now northern Nigeria, where he accompanied Osman Don Fodio, a religious zealot, in his campaigns in Hausa country. Upon his return, he set up a small hamlet near

Djenné, then began preaching and attracting followers. Thrown out of Djenné by the Arma, he had to move his headquarters to Sono. When his forces eventually defeated the combined Peul-Bambara armies, Djenné finally submitted to his authority. He established a new capital at Hamdallaye in 1815 and destroyed the mosque at Djenné, it is said, because its beauty offended his fundamentalist beliefs. It is likely that the mosque's destruction was politically motivated because it effectively diminished Djenné's role as the center of Islam in Macina. There may also have been a retaliatory element in the motive, because Cheikou Amadou had been driven out of Djenné. Some scholars doubt this, saying that only the Arma of Djenné opposed him.

Cheikou Amadou organized the Macina politically, economically, and administratively, and his laws found their way into every aspect

of Peul life. In 1826 and 1827, he freed Macina from Bambara domination and conquered Timbuctoo. The Peul, however, were driven out in 1844 when he died; Timbuctoo accepted Macina as suzerain in 1846, but there was no Peul military presence in the city. Cheikou Amadou converted most of the Peul to Islam. Prior to his time, most of the Peul were animists.

Cheikou Amadou established villages, reorganized the movement of cattle through the flood plains, and levied taxes. He refused the title of *ardo*. Instead, he was known as *Amirou al moumenina* (Commander of the Faithful). He died in 1844 and was succeeded by his son Amadou Cheikou. Although born Amadou Lobbo, he was later called Amadou Amadou (Amadou son of Amadou) and finally Cheikou ("Venerable") from the Arabic Cheikh, Amadou. See PEUL EMPIRE OF MACINA; HAMAALLAYE; BARI DYNASTY; TABLE 5.

CISSE, ALY (b. 1923).

Administrator and diplomat. He was born in Diafarabe and graduated from the Ecole William Ponty and from the Ecole Nationale de la France Outre-Mer. Cissé held several administrative posts and served as minister of public health and social affairs from 1973 to 1975, replacing Dr. Benitieni Fofana. In 1975, he was named ambassador to France and later became secretary-general of the Comité-Interétats pour la Lutte Contre la Sécheresse Sahélienne.

CISSE, DIANGO.

A Malian author and historian who is best known for his work *Structures des Malinké de Kita* (1970).

CISSE, MARION.

In 1968, she was named secretary of state in the presidency in charge of social affairs, a post she held until 1972, when social affairs were reintegrated with the ministry of public health. She was the first

Malian woman to have held a high cabinet-level post.

CISSE, SOULEYMANE (April 21, 1940- ).

Malian filmmaker born in Bamako and raised in a religious Moslem family. His father was a Malinké farmer, tailor, and Koranic teacher. Cissé grew up in Bamako and Dakar where he received his primary and secondary education. After the breakup of the Mali Federation he returned to Bamako. He then spent many years in the former Soviet Union on scholarships, studying photography, cinematography, and film production. Returning to Mali, he was employed by the Ministry of Information. Although he had produced three films while still a student in the Soviet Union, he gained attention with his first independent production, *Cinq Jours d'Une Vie* (1971). This was followed by *Degala Dialloub* ( 1974) and *Den Muso* (1974). In 1978 he produced *Buara*, a film about societal

corruption and the life of workers. His 1983 film, *Finyé* (The Wind), depicts the student revolts against the regime of Moussa Traoré. This political film received much praise. However, it was his 1987 film, *Yeelen* (The Light), that received a Cannes Film Festival prize. It depicts the origins of African society and profiles the exotic and magical.

Cissé is considered Mali's leading film producer. In 1986 the French government made him an officer of Arts and Letters and in 1987 Mali conferred on him the National Order.

#### COLLEGES.

Mali does not have a national university. However, it does have a number of colleges and institutes whose level of training would be comparable to that of two year community colleges in the United States. These colleges include the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Pratiques (accountancy, business studies), Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Ecole Nationale D'Ingénieurs, Ecole Nationale de Médecine et de Pharmacie, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Institut de Productivité et de Gestion Prévisionnelle (in-service training in the area of business), and the Institut Polytechnique Rural de Katibougou (rural technology, agronomy, agricultural economics etc.).

#### COMITE DE TRANSITION POUR LE SALUT DU PEUPLE (CTSP).

A committee formed by the union of some military officers who had brought about the coup d'etat against President Moussa Traoré on March 26, 1991, and prodemocracy leaders, students, etc. The CTSP was formed on March 30, 1991, and consisted of 10 military officers and 15 civilians. Chaired by President Amadou Toumani Touré, it oversaw Mali's transition to a multiparty democratic society. The CTSP also included representation from dissident Tuareg groups. It

oversaw the largely technocratic government of Prime Minister Soumana Sacko and went out of existence when Mali's democratically elected president, Alpha Oumar Konaré, took office on June 8, 1992.

#### COMITE D'ETUDES FRANCO-AFRICAINES (CEFA).

An organization founded in Algiers and then transported to Paris in 1944 and to AOF in 1945. The organization was an offshoot of the Comité-General d'Etudes (CGE) set up in 1942 by the resistance movement in France. The CEFA had as its purpose the study of Franco-African relations; the branch in Dakar began research on Africa in order to formulate a resistance policy toward that continent. After the war, Dakar became a center of Communist activity and, under increasing attack from the colonial administration, the CEFA disbanded.

#### COMITE MILITAIRE DE LIBERATION NATIONALE (CMLN).

A ruling military committee of Mali that was established on November

19, 1968, by the 14 young military officers who overthrew the regime of Modibo Keita. At the time of its inception, the committee's president was Moussa Traoré; its first vice president, Yoro Diakité; second vice president Baba Diarra; commissioner, Youssouf Traoré; permanent secretary, Filifing Sissoko. Other members included Tierkoro Bagayoko, Joseph Mara, Mamadou Sanogo, Kissima Doukara, Missa Koné, Karim Dembélé, Malik Diallo, Charles Samba Sissoko, and Mamadou Sissoko (q.v., Sissoko died in an automobile accident in 1969). Yoro Diakité and Malik Diallo were expelled from the CMLN in 1971. The membership of the committee remained the same until 1978. At the time of its inception, the committee was headed by Lt. Moussa Traoré who, like the other members, was unknown to the Malian public.

Essentially, the members of the committee were individuals who shared bonds of friendship established either at military camps or at the Kati Inter-Services School. Many of the soldiers on the committee were from the Kayes *région*; many were of Khassonké origins. Such regional and ethnic affinities were probably far less important than the collegial affinities established through shared experiences during military service. One member, Charles Samba Sissoko, was admitted to the committee even though he had been in Gao during the coup. Although the group was remarkably cohesive, friction existed between the four senior officers, who were captains (Diakité, Diallo, Mamadou Sissoko, Charles Samba Sissoko), and the younger, more aggressive lieutenants, who had actually planned the coup.

While individuals like Yoro Diakité took lead positions such as head of the provisional government, power really rested with the lieutenants. Most of the members of the committee were extremely inexperienced and of modest intellectual capacity. The exceptions were Moussa Traoré, who was a capable politician, and Filifing

Sissoko, who eventually emerged as the policy theoretician of the group. The committee set as its top priority the correction of flawed economic policies of the former regime. In reality, however, the committee did not reject Keita's socialist option either in rhetoric or in practice. Rather it condemned Keita for failing to make certain economic programs work in the common interest. The committee retained the basic elements of Keita's state-run economy of mixed enterprises in which the state would have the controlling interest. The new directions of domestic policy included greater individual freedoms; the encouragement of private traders; the dismantling of collective agriculture; the removal of interior customs controls; the dissolution of compulsory Marxist political indoctrination sessions, compulsory attendance at political rallies, and the many indirect taxes that went to support the party; the dissolution of the paramilitary and parapolitical bodies that



had been created in violation of the constitution; and the creation of free and democratic institutions.

Within a few days of the coup, these new policy directions were clearly evident to Malians; the oppressive police state apparatus of the Keita regime disappeared. The basic foodstuffs market was opened and the demand for imported consumer goods quickly met. The refreshing air of liberty was complemented by a marketplace that was once again full of all the commodities Malian traders are capable of selling but which had been absent under Keita's socialist distributive regime. For the short-term, anyway, urban Malians had the best of both worlds a consumer's marketplace where almost anything could be bought, guaranteed civil service employment or employment in parastatals, and enormous degrees of liberty. The retention of the state-run economy did not cause serious problems for several more years. In foreign affairs, the committee was pragmatic, but veered little from Keita's policy of nonalignment. Although relations warmed toward the West, Mali still stood faithfully by its commitments to its socialist allies in the Eastern Bloc.

Although the committee had promised a return to civilian rule by the following year, this promise clearly was difficult to put into effect. Within the committee itself there was much debate over this issue. In addition, the committee faced the problem of dealing with senior army officers who chafed at being directed by their subordinates. This problem was dealt with through retirements, as well as by the appointment in 1969 of senior captains to regional governorships and other high administrative posts.

Friction arose between Capt. Yoro Diakité, president of the provisional government, and Lt. Moussa Traoré, president of the committee. The difficulties were resolved through Diakité's eventual

demotion and final removal in 1971, at which time he was accused of attempting a coup. Diakité favored closer relations with the West and France. This view brought him into conflict with certain members of the committee who favored retention of Mali's special relationship with the Eastern Bloc. This issue, however, was not the only one that separated the groups. What made Diakité a potential putschist, and therefore dangerous, was his personal ambition and the belief that he was the one who could best lead the country. In 1969, the committee faced the real threat of a coup organized by Diby Silas Diarra, an army captain and martinet, both admired and despised for his efficient administration of the *cercle* of Kidal and its infamous prison colonies.

From the time of the committee's inception, consensus was the operational basis upon which the committee ran; consensus was established at weekly policy meetings of its members in Bamako. After the removal of Diallo and Diakité, however, the power core of the group

consisted of Bagayoko, Diarra, Filifing Sissoko, Youssouf Traoré, Doukara, and Charles Samba Sissoko.

The committee's initial promise of a return to civilian rule was no hollow promise, although at times, many Malians thought it was indeed that. Before such a return could take place, the committee had to deal with two serious problems: eradicating the remnants of the Keita USRDA party apparatus (which proved easy to do) and reintegrating the highly politicized cadres of the country into a nonpolitical way of life.

It must be remembered that under the Keita regime, virtually all of the country's cadres were highly politicized. Although the US-RDA officials were easily assigned to provincial posts, effectively removing them from the center of power in Bamako, the upper cadres of the Keita regime posed a thornier problem. The problem was solved in the short term by their imprisonment.

Because of the justifiable fear that the old Keita guard might work its way back into power, the committee debated over a period of several years about how long members of the guard should be kept in detention. The problem was handled in the following way. Article 76 of the new 1974 constitution essentially barred top Keita officeholders from assuming positions in the government, National Assembly, or party for a period of 10 years beginning in 1974. Thus, a constitutional barrier to Keita's followers gaining access to power allowed them, in reverse order of their political importance, to be released.

In February 1977, former President Keita, who had been held in the bleak northeastern prison of Kidal, was transferred to Bamako, supposedly to prepare him for his release, which would be seen as a sign of national reconciliation. When Keita died suddenly on May 16,

1977, many suspected that he had been secretly murdered. The public demonstrations that accompanied his funeral demonstrated not only the continued strength of his following but the short memories of the many who cheered the downfall of what they considered his oppressive regime. The election of a broad array of officials of the new political party, the Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien founded by President Traoré, put new actors into place on the political scene. Thus, when many of Keita's associates were released in late 1977 and early 1978, they found not only a constitutional barrier to their political participation in the affairs of the country, but the road blocked by a host of newly elected UDPM leaders.

Between 1974 and election time in June 1979, the CMLN in effect planned its own abolition. During this period, the president cautiously set about establishing a new political party, the UDPM. Initially, there was little enthusiasm for the UDPM on the part of those people wearied by the old US-RDA. Furthermore some military committee members were fearful of losing power, along with its perquisites, and op-

posed sharing the limelight. All this helps explain why Traoré so carefully set the party apparatus in motion. By late 1978, however, the party apparatus was well on its way to being set up. Within the military committee, the center of power was shared by six members, exclusive of the president: Filifing Sissoko, permanent secretary to the committee and a dedicated and loyal intimate confidant to the president; Baba Diarra, vice president of the committee and a strong supporter of the president as well as holder of various ministerial portfolios; Tiecoro Bagayoko, director of security services; Youssouf Traoré, former minister of information; Kissima Doukara, minister of defense, interior and security, whose power was enhanced by his direction of the drought relief activities and the expansion of the army during the border conflict with Upper Volta; and Charles Samba Sissoko, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation. Of these, Doukara and Bagayoko were not overly enthusiastic about sharing power with the civilians, but they went along with the president's plans.

Throughout 1977, the process of moving toward civilian rule progressed. This move required the assent of the six core members of the committee as well as of the president. On January 3, 1978 according to the official version of what happened President Traoré came upon convincing evidence that Doukara had embezzled huge amounts of drought relief aid, the only sizable funds in the country available for misappropriation. Traoré demanded that Doukara resign as minister of defense, interior and security. Doukara refused, saying that he and the president had come to power together and that they would leave together, a position revealing Doukara's confidence in the security of his power. Traoré tried to deal with the issue within the framework of a larger ministerial shuffle, but the committee did not give him support. In the end, there was a partial

ministerial change which brought Youssouf Traoré back into the government for the first time since 1975. According to the government version, Doukara and Bagayoko decided they would have to eliminate the president in order to hold on to power. Committee member Karim Dembélé, minister of public works, allied himself with them; together they were characterized by the Traoré government as the "Gang of Three."

This official version leaves a number of questions unanswered. Doukara's massive embezzlement was common knowledge in Bamako as far back as 1974, making it unlikely that Traoré suddenly learned of it in January 1978. In addition, Traoré had by this time embezzled huge amounts himself, as had other members of the committee. Traoré had other motivations for confronting the problem at this particular time. In February and March 1978, Doukara, Bagayoko, Dembélé, and Charles Samba Sissoko were arrested for trying to overthrow the government, thus rendering the remaining CMLN

membership subordinate to the president. On June 28, 1979, the CMLN effectively disappeared, most of its remaining members becoming integrated into the central committee of the UDPM. At the time of its demise, the CMLN's members were the president, Moussa Traoré, Filifing Sissoko, Mamadou Sanogo, Youssouf Traoré, Baba Diarra, and Missa Koné. Of the original 14, one had died and seven had been purged in the 10½ years that the committee was in existence. *See* COUP D'ETAT, PLANNED, 1978; YORO DIAKITÉ; MOUSSA TRAORÉ; TABLE 8; TABLE 9.

#### COMITE NATIONAL DE DEFENSE DE LA REVOLUTION (CNDR).

A body originally set up in 1966 by President Modibo Keita. On August 22, 1967, Keita launched a cultural revolution, at which time he dissolved the National Political Bureau and gave the CNDR complete power over the party and government. The new CNDR was composed of 11 members plus President Keita. Moderates such as Jean-Marie Koné were excluded and "radicals" such as Ousmane Ba and Seydou Badian Kouyate were included. Local political bureaus were replaced by Comites Locaux de Defense de la Revolution. The only party structure left unchanged was that present in villages and subsections. The CNDR ceased to exist on November 19, 1968, when the Keita regime was overthrown by a coup d'etat. But from August 1967 until that time, Modibo Keita ran both the country and the party.

#### COMMISSION DES COMITES SYNDICAUX DES ENSEIGNANTS.

An autonomous trade union of teachers founded in December 1979 by teachers in and around Bamako. The group arose during the teacher strike and protest. Teachers primarily protested the chronic failure of the government to meet its payroll; they also complained of low wages. *See* STUDENT AND TEACHER STRIKES.

## COMMUNAUTE FINANCIERE AFRICAINE (CFA).

The financial grouping of all of the former states of French West and Central Africa, except Guinea and Mauritania, plus Togo, Madagascar, and Cameroon. Although Mali withdrew in 1962 it became loosely associated with the group in 1968 after the implementation of the Franco-Malian monetary accords. Mali was readmitted in 1984.

The CFA franc is issued by the Banque Centrale des Etats d'Afrique de l'Ouest, which moved in 1974 from Paris to Dakar. From 1946 until 1962, the initials CFA stood for Colonies Françaises d'Afrique. The Union Monétaire de l'Ouest Africain (UMOA), the West African Monetary Union, is the currency union that issues and controls the CFA franc. Mali was admitted to this union in February 1984, and in June 1984 the CFA franc replaced the Mali franc.



### COMPAGNIE DE GALAM.

A series of joint stock-holding companies that were established about 1820 and closed in 1848. The companies were organized by the French government at Saint Louis in Senegal for the local *habitant* traders who, when the river rose once a year, went up the Senegal River to trade. The members of these companies tried to establish a monopoly in order to control prices. Most of these companies had low subscription fees and large memberships, but they were eventually dominated by *métis* and Wolof merchants. The smaller *traitants* eventually concentrated their efforts on the *escales* along the lower stretches of the river; at these locations, they could trade all year long. The traders of these companies penetrated into the western portion of what is now Mali.

### COMPAGNIE FRANCAISE DE L'AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST (CFAO, French Company of West Africa).

Founded in 1887, this Marseilles-based import-export firm became a major economic force in many colonies of French-speaking West Africa. Marseilles trading houses had been dominant in Senegal for almost two centuries, and this firm had the advantage of drawing on that legacy. It and firms similar to it gave credit preferences to Lebanese and French agents; in so doing, the company effectively destroyed the position previously occupied by Wolof, Maure, and Dyula merchants. The latter groups were limited to small trading. In Senegal and in the western part of the Sudan, the company kept many peasant farmers in debt by advancing them seed, tools, and consumer goods and then monopolizing the harvesting and collection of the annual peanut crop.

Prior to World War II, the company invested virtually none of its capital gains in West Africa. After the war it expanded into other commercial sectors, such as textiles, peanut-oil refineries, and cement

manufacturing. The company gradually retreated from overseas commerce during the 1950s when it became obvious that independence was inevitable. In France, the company shifted its capital to supermarkets and then, in a limited way, to West Africa. When Mali became independent in 1960, the company was no longer able to function in Modibo Keita's state-controlled economy. It survived a while longer in nearby Senegal, involving itself in the retail trade of peanuts after Senegal nationalized their export. There, in 1960, it founded a new firm called AFRIDEX, which was eventually absorbed by a Senegalese company.

#### COMPAGNIE FRANCAISE POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT DES FIBRES TEXTILES (CFDT).

A French-operated concern that developed Mali's cotton-growing schemes in Koutiala, Bougouni, San, and Ségou. In addition to lending assistance and offering technical

advice on the growing of cotton, the CFDT built a number of cotton-processing plants and trained Malian personnel to operate them.

#### CONFERENCE NATIONALE DES CADRES.

A national conference of Mali's cadres called by the military committee and held between July 25 and 31, 1969. The purpose of this conference was to permit the people to present Mali's poor economic and fiscal situation to the military committee. This information was detailed in two reports prepared by Mamadou Aw and Louis Nègre. One hundred thirty speakers addressed a number of political, social, and economic issues and brought to the attention of the military committee the problems of the country as seen from the perspective of the people. The military committee declared its readiness to reinstate civilian rule as soon as the country's economic and financial problems were resolved. *See* NATIONAL CONFERENCE 1991.

#### CONGRES NATIONAL D'INITIATIVE DEMOCRATIQUE (CNID).

Headed by Mountaga Tall CNID actively participated in the prodemocracy movement that led to the overthrow of the regime of President Moussa Traoré on March 26, 1991. Prior to the overthrow of Traoré, CNID and other prodemocracy groups formed a coordinating committee called the Comité de Coordination des Associations et Organisations Démocratiques (CCAOD). On April 5, 1991 the Comité de Transition Pour le Salut du Peuple (CTSP) authorized the formation of political parties. CNID changed the first word in its name from Comité to Congrès. Supported primarily by a young constituency, it obtained 92 of 751 municipal council seats when elections were held on January 9, 1992. When legislative elections were held in February and March 1992 for the National Assembly, CNID won nine seats. In the first round of presidential elections held on April 12, 1992, Tall came in third with 11.41% of the votes, after

Konaré (44.92) of ADEMA and Konaté (14.52) of the US-RDA.

Student riots organized by the Association des Elèves et Etudiants du Mali brought down the government of Younoussi Touré on April 9, 1993. The new prime minister, Abdoulaye Sékou Sow, then formed a coalition government with CNID. When this government fell on February 2, 1994, CNID initially withdrew from the new government of Boubacar Keita. *See* POLITICAL PARTIES.

CONSEIL DE RECONCILIATION NATIONALE (CRN).

A military committee headed by Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Touré which assumed power on March 26, 1991, after overthrowing the government of President Moussa Traoré. The CRN consisted of 17 members, all military officers. Despite its promises to move Mali rapidly to multi-

party democratic elections, it was perceived by both outside observers and by inside prodemocracy organizations as an opportunistic group that seized power for itself amidst the chaos of rioting that had preceded the coup.

Outside donors, especially France, let the CRN know that all aid would cease if it did not yield power. Prodemocracy groups warned that the protests would be shifted to the CRN if it did not dissolve. It was clear to Touré and his fellow officers that they could not hold on to power, and so on March 30, the CRN was dissolved. In its place a Comité de Transition Pour le Salut du Peuple (CTSP) was formed with 25 members, 10 military and 15 civilian. *See* AMADOU TOUMANI TOURÉ; COUP D'ETAT, 1991.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE FIFTH FRENCH REPUBLIC.

Promulgated in 1958 and frequently called the "De Gaulle Constitution," it had two principal provisions concerning French West Africa. The federation was dissolved, disappointing the hopes of those African political leaders such as Senghor of Senegal who had hoped for a united federation upon independence. The constitution made provision, however, for states to group as they saw fit; under this provision, over a period close to two years, the Sudan and Senegal tried to put together the Mali Federation. In response to British plans to grant early independence to many of its African colonies, the constitution gave French West African voters the opportunity to vote for immediate independence or for internal self-government within the French Union. Only Guinea voted in favor of immediate independence and its explicit conditions complete severing of all ties with France and no assistance in banking or administration.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE FOURTH FRENCH REPUBLIC.

A constitution promulgated after World War II in October 1946, which

was of considerable significance to France's overseas territories. This constitution made provision for a French union in which there was a National Assembly whose voting membership was evenly divided between metropolitan France and overseas colonies. Overall, African representation in the National Assembly and in the upper house (Council of the Republic) was considerably expanded. The constitution allowed territories like the French Sudan to elect deputies from territories they had previously been barred from. In reality, the constitution eliminated many of the most unacceptable political characteristics of colonialism; at the same time, it insured French economic dominance and centralization of power. The constitution did away with the classification of most Africans in the Sudan (and elsewhere) as *sujets* (subject), individuals subject to the Indigenat. All became

citizens of the Union. Voting rights under this constitution were determined not by place of birth but rather by economic and educational criteria as well as by certain administrative restrictions.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALI (1960).

Adopted on September 22, 1960, after the breakup of the Mali Federation. It began with a highly humanitarian preamble which upheld the principle of human rights and African unity. The constitution spelled out the division of powers in the government. The president (also chief of state) was to be elected for five years, as were members of the unicameral National Assembly. The latter voted laws and held the president responsible to them. A court of state examined the constitutionality of laws, whereas a High Court of Justice was empowered to judge the president. The judicial system was guaranteed independence. In January 1968, the National Assembly dissolved itself, authorizing the president to rule by decree and appoint individuals to carry out the deputies' functions. The 1960 constitution was formally suspended on December 6, 1968, when a Fundamental Law was promulgated by the then ruling military committee.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALI (1974).

In June 1974, Malians went to the polls to vote on a new constitution presented to the electorate by the Military Committee of National Liberation (CMLN). This constitution of June 2, 1974, was overwhelmingly approved. Many of its elements are similar to or identical with those in the 1960 constitution. There are differences, however. This constitution began with a preamble that affirms the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and expresses Mali's commitment to the principles of African unity and liberation. The constitution provided for universal suffrage, secret voting, and the election of a president for a five-year term. It also provided for a

single political party whose national electorate nominates the presidential candidate. The president was both chief of state and president of the government. A unicameral National Assembly was elected for four years by universal suffrage. A supreme court is charged with guaranteeing the constitutionality of laws. A High Court of Justice was empowered to judge the president and his ministers, when they were accused of wrongdoing by the National Assembly.

Under Title XIV, Article 76, of the constitution, those who served under the former Keita government between March 1, 1966, and November 19, 1968, were excluded from membership in the party, government, and National Assembly for a period of 10 years from 1974 onward. Those banned included members of the Political Bureau, National Committee for the Defense of the Revolution, legislative dele-



gation, general secretaries of sections or subsections of the US-RDA, presidents of local committees for the defense of the revolution, national or local leaders of the Popular Militia, members of the Bureau of the National Union of Workers of Mali, and chiefs or assistant chiefs of zones. The constitution also required that the CMLN conduct the affairs of the country for another five years that is, until 1979 which it did. The constitution was abrogated on March 26, 1991, following a military coup d'etat.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALI (1992).

The constitution of the Third Republic of Mali took initial form at the National Conference of July 29-August 12, 1991, in Bamako. This constitution provides for essential human rights and presumes someone to be innocent until proven guilty. The executive branch is headed by the president, who is elected for a five-year term by universal suffrage and by an absolute majority vote. The president names a prime minister who then suggests individuals for appointment as ministers. The legislative branch is represented by the National Assembly whose deputies are also elected for terms of five years. A total of 129 deputies (13 deputies represent Malians living abroad) were elected in 1992. The constitution permits the existence of all political parties, unlike its predecessor documents of 1960 and 1974.

The judiciary is for the first time independent of the executive and legislative branches. The judiciary consists of a Supreme Court, a Constitutional Court, and a High Court of Justice which judges the president and government ministers accused of crimes in the conduct of their functions.

This constitution was promulgated on October 15, 1991, and placed before the people in a referendum on January 12, 1992. Only 43.5%

of eligible voters came out to vote. However, the majority approved the new constitution.

### COOPERATIVES.

In 1964, Mali launched a program of establishing cooperatives in which consumer goods, especially food, would be sold in ways that would protect buyers from the risks inherent in price rises in the private sector. In Bamako, 30 cooperatives comprising 35 stores and 60 distribution points (primarily for cereals) were formed. By 1968, 70% of the city's population was buying its cereal from cooperatives. After the coup d'etat of 1968 this fell to 30%. In 1966 the Union des Cooperatives (UNICOOP) was permitted to import especially from socialist countries hardware, textiles, groceries, and other items. In Bamako, UNICOOP maintained retail stores and sold products to regional cooperatives outside the capital. For a variety of reasons, UNICOOP and other cooperatives experienced chronic fiscal

deficit and became less important as Mali moved toward a free market economy. UNICOOP was disbanded in 1990.

#### COULIBALY DYNASTY.

A dynasty of Bambara chiefs and kings that ruled the Ségou kingdom between 1650 and 1755. The members of the dynasty were descendants of the Coulibaly clan that had settled in the early seventeenth century between Baroueli and the right bank of the Niger. Another line of the same Coulibaly clan eventually set up a Bambara kingdom in Kaarta. Kaladian (c. 1652-c. 1682) extended his power over a considerable area. According to oral traditions, however, after his death the power of his son Danfassari and grandson Souma greatly decreased. Mamari (Biton), one of three children of Fa Sine and a grandson of Souma, is said by local traditions to have been born into poor circumstances. The truth of this story is difficult to evaluate because it may be an attempt to increase Biton's heroic image. His early power extended over only a few villages, but eventually he overcame Soninké supremacy in the area and established a kingdom. Biton's death in 1755 marked the end of a successful era of autocratic rule which had been based on the skillful use of a highly loyal military force, the *ton djon*.

Dikoro, Biton's son, was assassinated by the *ton djon* in 1757, allegedly because he was cruel. It is likely that the powerful leaders of the *ton djon* were unwilling to submit to autocratic rule that emanated from the descendant of their former master and that they preferred to return to egalitarian governance. Thus, Dikoro may not have been killed merely because he was unjust and cruel.

Bakari (Ali), Biton's second son, was in Timbuctoo when his brother was killed and returned to Ségou to become *fama*. He lasted about two weeks. According to legend he attempted to introduce an

uncompromising form of Islam among an animist population devoted to its cults and fond of drinking alcohol. Bakari and all of the Coulibaly family were killed, except for two of Biton's daughters, who were rescued by N'Golo Diarra in a plot organized by the *ton djon*. Whether this rescue really took place as legends say is difficult to evaluate. It may possibly be revisionist history spawned by N'Golo Diarra during his own reign to add legitimacy to his position and to portray himself as gallant and heroic. With the murder of Bakari (Ali), the Coulibaly dynasty came to an end. Ségou was then ruled by a succession of *ton djon* leaders, the last of whom, N'Golo Diarra, provided the sort of stability that had existed under Biton Coulibaly. N'Golo Diarra set up a dynasty that ruled until 1862. Under the Coulibaly, Ségou's wealth was based on slave trading and agriculture. A number of the peoples captured by the *ton djon* were sold into the

Atlantic slave trade. *See* BITON COULIBALY; DIARRA DYNASTY; DIKORO COULIBALY; SEGOU KINGDOM; TABLE 3.

COULIBALY, SIDI (b. 1940).

Economist and statistician born in Gao. He received degrees in political science and economics. From 1968 to 1971 he served as a technical advisor to the presidency and in August 1971 was named minister of production.

COULIBALY, SORI (b. 1925).

Diplomat and administrator born in Sokolo. In 1962, he was chief of Mali's permanent mission to the U.N.; in 1966, he was ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Mongolia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. From 1969 to 1970, he served as minister of foreign affairs; from 1970 to 1973, as minister of labor and public function. In 1973, he became delegated minister to the CMLN and responsible for the Ministry of Labor and Public Function, and later minister of rural development, posts he held until 1978 when he was appointed political secretary of the UDPM, a position he held for several years until February 1982 when the Second Congress of the UDPM replaced him.

COULIBALY, ZANGA (b. 1929).

Born in San, he studied veterinary medicine and received his doctorate. From November 1968 until August 1971, he served as minister of production. He then entered private life and, in 1973, began work on special projects for the office of the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports. He later became director of the Center for Vocational Guidance.

COUP D'ETAT, NOVEMBER 19, 1968.

A coup d'etat which overthrew the regime of Modibo Keita. The first

successful coup in Mali's history, it was organized by a group of 14 young officers. Although the reasons for the coup are several, they all relate to the radicalization of the socialist movement in Mali in 1967 during the cultural revolution.

The last year of Keita's regime was characterized by political tension, ideological rigidity, and oppression enacted by the Popular Militia. Considerable strain already existed between the army and the party. Rumors were spreading that Keita planned to disband the army and replace it with his Popular Militia. During 1968, severe frictions occurred between the latter and the young cadre of well-trained army officers. The Popular Militia consisted of some 3000 youths; it was almost equal in size to the army, but poorly trained. A group of young army officers asked Keita to either disband the militia or place it under army control. Keita refused to do either and planned, instead, to

arrest a number of young officers on November 25, 1968, after his return from a regional economic conference in Mopti.

Well before November 19, 1968, the junior officers had decided that Mali's steady political and economic deterioration could only be corrected by removal of the "leftists" responsible for this state of affairs. Given the widespread popular discontent with Keita's policies, they also saw an opportunity to seize power for themselves. The officers were probably moved to decisive preemptive action when it became known that some of them were to be arrested. The coup was carried out in an almost bloodless manner during the early morning hours of November 19, 1968. President Keita, who was due to arrive on the General Soumaré that morning at Koulikoro, was arrested upon landing. Members of the CNDR, government ministers, and officers of the Popular Militia were also taken into custody. The day the coup took place in Bamako was extremely calm, the streets being almost totally deserted.

At noon, Moussa Traoré, the leader of the group of junior officers, announced the fall of the regime of Modibo Keita and the formation of the Comité Militaire de Libération Nationale. On November 20, 1968, massive street demonstrations in support of the military began spontaneously in Bamako. The crowds denounced Modibo Keita, but more frequently shouted "down with the militia." On November 22, 1968, the CMLN announced the formation of a provisional government.

COUP D'ETAT, MARCH 25-26, 1991.

A coup d'etat led by Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Touré, head of the parachute battalion of the Malian Army. The coup put to an end two weeks of serious rioting and demonstrations in Bamako organized by students, unionists and prodemocracy groups. President Moussa

Traoré and his principal associates were arrested on March 26. The government and the Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien, the sole political party, were dissolved and the constitution of 1974 set aside. The overthrow of Traoré brought calm to the streets of Bamako. However, Touré and his associates, despite their promises of democratic elections in the future, fell under immediate suspicion from outside donors and prodemocracy groups of having staged an opportunistic coup. The Conseil de Reconciliation Nationale (CRN) which they formed came under intense pressure to resign. The threat of demonstrators turning on the CRN, and more importantly the threat of a suspension of foreign aid, gave Touré and his fellow military associates no choice but to yield. Revisionist supporters of Touré, who himself became a popular transitional head of state, have tried to portray his coup as having always been in the interests of the prodemocracy movement. However, the evidence



is quite convincing that the CRN would have held on to power indefinitely if it had not been for the immediate threats it faced. On March 30, 1991, four days after the coup, the CRN was dissolved and replaced by a Comité de Transition pour le Salut du Peuple (CTSP) which included a civilian majority.

COUP D'ETAT (PLANNED), AUGUST 14, 1969. A coup d'etat said to have been planned for August 14, 1969, by a group of 32 commissioned and noncommissioned officers led by Capt. Diby Silas Diarra. These plans were discovered by the governing military committee on August 12-13, 1969. The officers in question were arrested and brought to trial in December, 1969. Eight were acquitted. Capt. Diby Silas Diarra, Alassane Diarra, and Chief Sergeant Boubacar Traoré were all sentenced to life in prison at hard labor. Others received terms of from one to 20 years at hard labor.

COUP D'ETAT (PLANNED), 1976.

A coup organized by junior Army officers, enlisted men, and allegedly by some of the Tuareg nomad leaders held in detention in Bamako since 1964. The latter were held in modified house arrest and freely fraternized with army and gendarmerie officers and men. On June 10, 1977, the State Security Court condemned seven officers and five nomads to death.

COUP D'ETAT (PLANNED), 1978.

An alleged plot planned by four members of the Military Committee: Kissima Doukara, Tiecoro Bagayoko, Karim Dembélé, and Charles Samba Sissoko. The conspirators planned to have Madame Fatou Tall, who had lost her position as secretary-general of the Union Nationale des Femmes Maliennes, organize market women in a demonstration against prices and government controls. The plan also called for students and workers to join the protest. Bagayoko and his officers

were to surround the headquarters of the CMLN under the pretext of protecting it from the protestors. During the street disruptions these forces were then to shoot the president and his supporters. Charles Samba Sissoko, who was then minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, was to be out of the country. Although he was to be called back to be president, Doukara and Bagayoko were to retain the real power. On February 28, Doukara, Bagayoko, and Dembélé were arrested. Sissoko was arrested in March. Also arrested in the plot was the chief of staff of the army, the vice-chief of staff of the air force, the chief of staff of the gendarmerie, the deputy director of security services, the commander of the Kati military camp, the commander of the Bamako paratroop battalion, and 25 other senior military and police officers. They were all tried by the State Security Court in October 1978 and sentenced on October 21.

Doukara and Bagayoko were sentenced to death. Dembélé was given 20 years at hard labor. Sissoko was given five years, and 23 officers were given sentences ranging from six months to 15 years at hard labor. Doukara and Bagayoko and other officers were tried again on corruption charges in March 1979. Doukara received a second death sentence at this trial; Bagayoko, another five years.

Both Doukara and Bagayoko were sent to the Taoudeni salt mines where they died in 1983. This coup attempt was the most serious since the 1969 coup plotted by Diby Silas Diarra. In large measure it was prompted by self-survival motives on the part of the principal participants.

On January 3, 1978, President Traoré confronted Doukara with incontrovertible evidence of his having embezzled massive sums of drought-relief aid. Asked to step down, Doukara refused, telling Traoré that they had come to power together and would leave together. Doukara's reprisal demonstrated in part his perception of his own powersizable at the time and of the president as merely a first among equals. In addition, the theft of drought-relief funds by high ranking military officials was well known in Bamako as far back as 1974. Traoré himself had embezzled large amounts and spread some of it around among cronies. Thus Doukara was not going to resign for something that even the president was guilty of. The accusation against Doukara served as a prelude to removing him and his clique, for they had proved to be an increasing obstacle to the president's plans for constitutional rule, which had gained considerable momentum in 1977. Thus, though the crime was an old and longstanding one, the accusation was used to solve an immediate problem. An additional factor was pressure brought to bear on Traoré by outside donors, who were alarmed at the continuing high level of embezzlement that was undermining the country's economy. Doukara

was a convenient scapegoat. Removing him enabled Traoré to show outside donors that he was doing something about the theft of foreign assistance funds while moving forward with his plans to have the military continue to rule behind the veneer of a civilian constitution.

When brought to trial, the accused not unconvincingly charged their accusers with similar corruption (a fact of common knowledge because so much of Mali's stolen funds were used to build many conspicuous villas which were rented out at exorbitant rates to expatriate personnel many of whom were involved in drought relief).

COUP D'ETAT (PLANNED), 1981.

A coup organized by officers of the gendarmerie and known as the "Coup des Gendarmes." Fifteen officers participated in the plot, most of whom were arrested. Three were

sentenced to death on March 14, 1981, for attempting to assassinate the president.

#### COUP D'ETAT (PLANNED), 1991.

A coup d'etat planned for July 15 and led by Major Lamine Diabira and seven other army officers. At the time, Diabira was minister of territorial administration in the transitional government of Prime Minister Soumana Sacko which was overseeing Mali's transition to multiparty democracy. Diabira, a former governor of the Timbuctoo region, was a hard-liner who strongly disagreed with the government's conciliatory approach to the Tuareg. He and his accomplices were arrested.

#### COUP D'ETAT (PLANNED), 1993.

A coup d'etat planned during late 1993 by a group of officers led by Lt. Colonel Oumar Diallo. Diallo was removed to Timbuctoo and the other officers arrested.

#### CULTURAL REVOLUTION OF AUGUST 1967.

The beginning of Modibo Keita's cultural revolution is generally accepted as being August 22, 1967. On that date, Keita announced in an address over Radio Mali that the National Political Bureau was dissolved and that its powers would be assumed by the Comité National de Defense de la Revolution. In his address, he stated that the CNDR had as its objective the political and economic cleansing of Mali as well as the preparation of conditions for receiving the political direction of the Union Soudanaise-RDA. Prior to this announcement (which in effect radically altered Mali's government), Keita's supporters beginning with the Sixth Annual Youth Week of the US-RDA on July 1-9, 1967 had prepared the public for the changeover. The thrust of the speeches given at this event tried to make it clear that Mali's socialist option was in jeopardy. More than ever before, Mali

had to be militant against her enemies. On July 18, 1967, a mass meeting was held in the Omnisport Stadium. The Popular Militia was there, as were vigilant brigades, young pioneers, army officers and youth. Organized by the youth of the US-RDA, the meeting was designed to render support to Modibo Keita.

The youth adopted a resolution supporting Modibo Keita and Mali's socialist option. A mass march with torches then got underway, the marchers taking their petition to Modibo Keita at the Permanence du Parti on the other side of Bamako. In his reply, Keita affirmed the demands of the youth for an ideological purification of the country, a reorganization of the state, and the removal of corrupt government officials and employees. This demonstration was followed by others: by the unions on July 20, by the women of the US-RDA on July 30, and

by a visit by Keita to the Ecole Inter-Armies at Kati on July 27, where the army spokesman, Col. Sekou Traoré, gave the president the army's full support. After August 22, support for Modibo was given by most organized bodies in the country. The Popular Militia, acting like China's "Red Guards," undertook an "active revolution" to uncover corruption and to purify the party. In practical terms, this armed group became oppressive to ordinary citizens. As the revolution progressed, several leading politicians were denounced and a national commission representing labor, youth, and the militia investigated real estate ownership and other properties, including taxis supposedly illegally acquired. The cultural revolution greatly taxed the patience of most Malians. It came to an end with the coup d'etat of 1968.

D

DAMBA, FANTA (d. 1987).

Malian singer, well known for her repertoire of traditional Bambara songs. Born in Ségou, she learned most of her songs from her mother. She also composed several songs herself. A younger woman with the same name is also a well known singer and is frequently referred to as "Fanta Damba Numero Deux."

DA MONSON DIARRA.

The first of several sons of Monson Diarra, who reigned as *fama* of Ségou. Da ruled from 1808 to 1827. During his reign Cheikou Amadou rose to power in Macina, overthrew the ruling Peul dynasty, and freed Macina from Bambara hegemony. In 1826, Da made peace with Kaarta, bringing their 30-year war to an end. During his reign he had to put down a threat to his rule by Mama Traoré, the governor of San. Da was succeeded by his brother Tiefolo. See SEGOU KINGDOM; N'GOLO DIARRA; MONSON DIARRA; TABLE 3.

DAVOUST, LT., AND DELLANNEAU, CAPT.

French military officers who explored the Niger between Bamako and Diafarabé in 1885 on the gunboat *Niger*, which had been transported overland from Medine to Bamako. *See* CARON.

DELAFOSSÉ, MAURICE (1870-1926).

French linguist, ethnologist, and colonial administrator who gained renown for his excellent studies of the languages, history, and cultures of many West African peoples, including those in Mali. Delafosse studied at the School of Oriental Studies in Paris both before and after a two-year stay with a religious order in the Sahara of North Africa. In 1894, he went to the Ivory Coast colony as *Commis des Affaires Indigènes*. Later, he served as a *commandant de cercle* in the Ivory Coast and the Sudan;



consul of France in Monrovia; chief of the French section of the Anglo-French commission on the delimitation of the Gold Coast-Ivory border; and chief of service of civil affairs of the government of French West Africa. Named in 1918 as governor of Oubangui-Chari, Delafosse declined the post because of ill health and returned to France in 1918 where he taught at the School of Oriental Languages and at the Colonial School. Among his 43 publications is *Le Haut Sénégal-Niger* (1912), a three-volume work that provides a rich and detailed description of the peoples and history of much of present-day Mali, written from the perspective of his time and based on the information available to him. Delafosse also translated the *Tarikh el Fettach* into French from Arabic in collaboration with Octave Houdas, his father-in-law, who was professor at the School of Living Oriental Languages, Paris.

He died November 13, 1926, at Sancerque, France. In 1976, his daughter, Louise Delafosse, published his biography, *Maurice Delafosse: Le Berrichon Conquis par d'Afrique*. She died on January 4, 1982, in Cannes, France, from head injuries sustained in a street mugging on the evening of December 31.

DELLANNEAU, CAPT.  
See DAVOUST.

DEMBELE, LT. COL. KARIM.

Military officer who had been a member of the Military Committee of National Liberation since November 1968. In September 1970, Dembélé was named chief of cabinet of the president of the government and minister of transport, telecommunications, and tourism. In 1976, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and later named minister of public works. He was arrested on February 28, 1978, and accused, along with Tiecoro Bagayoko and Kissima

Doukaratwo other members of the CMLNof participating in an attempted coup. At a trial before the State Security Court in October 1978, he was sentenced to 20 years at hard labor. He was later released.

DEMBELE, MAMADOU.

Physician, surgeon, and politician. Dembélé, who served as President Traoré's personal physician, was appointed prime minister on June 5, 1986. He held this position for two years, until June 6, 1988, when Traoré abolished it.

DEMBELE, SIDIKI (1921- ).

Novelist, playwright, politician, and public administrator, Dembélé was born in San and after being educated locally graduated from the Ecole Normale William Ponty in Dakar in 1940. From 1941 to 1945 he served in the French Army and then in 1946 helped found the US-RDA. As a trade unionist, he served

as general secretary of the post, telephone, and telegraph workers union of AOF from 1948 to 1954 and was general secretary of the PTT union in the Ivory Coast from 1954 to 1959. In 1960 he was appointed Director of Information and Broadcasting in the Mali Federation and in 1968 became General Supervisor of the PTT in Mali. He is the author of a novel, *Les inutiles* (1960), which received the Ivory Coast Grand Literary Prize, and of a play, *Le chant du Mahdi* (1950), which was produced in Mali, Senegal, and the Ivory Coast. He also wrote two other plays and a radio play, *Une femme un amour* (1969), which was broadcast in Paris.

DESPLAGNES, CAPT. LOUIS.

French military officer, ethnographer, and archaeologist. In 1907-08, Desplagnes directed an ethnographic and archaeologic expedition into central Mali, around the inland delta of the Niger and Bandiagara Plateau. He made the first detailed observations of the Dogon people, a description of whom comprises most of his book *Le Plateau Central Nigérien* (1907).

DIA.

Small village in the inland delta of the Niger, in ancient times known as Zaga. Considerable historical evidence exists that Dia was an important center of Islamic learning in ancient Ghana and that it was an important commercial center as well as home for Soninké clerics and scholars, many of whom eventually emigrated to Timbuctoo and Djenné during the fourteenth century. Dia rapidly declined after its conquest by the Songhay empire. It has been said that Djenné was founded from Dia; however, recent archaeological evidence pointing to ancient Djenné's existence as far back as 300 B.C. throws doubt on this claim. The possibility exists that present-day Djenné received Dia immigrants in the fourteenth century, the period when Djenné-Jeno went into sharp decline. Dia was an important center of the Peul

kingdom of Macina. The Peul king, Hamadou-Amina, was defeated by Djouder and the Moroccans at Dia in 1596.

DIABATE, MASSA MAKAN (1938-1988).

Writer, novelist, and folklorist. Diabaté was born in Kita, in western Mali, and was educated at the Lycée Donka in Guinea and in Paris, where he received his university degree. In 1959 he enrolled at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Européennes in Strasbourg, France, where he studied politics and social sciences. In 1966, he returned to Mali and took up a position at the Institut des Sciences Humaines. In 1972 he was appointed head of the Department of Culture in the Ministry of Information. Much of his writing was inspired by Malinké oral traditions, as evidenced in his collected stories, *Si le feu s'éteignant* (1967) and *Kala Jata* (1970). His 1980 novel, *Le Coiffeur de Konita* (1980), was highly

praised. Diabaté often wrote in the Bambara language. Beginning in the 1960's, he worked closely with the American folklorist and linguist Charles Bird (University of Indiana).

#### DIABATE, SIDIKI.

A musician well known in Mali for his fine *kora* music. The *kora*, a 21-string lute, is widely used in Western Mali, Sénégal, Guinea, and the Gambia. Diabaté is one of Mali's leading *kora* players. See DYELI.

#### DIABIRA, LAMINE.

Army Commander who served as governor of the Timbuctoo region. In April 1991 he was appointed minister of territorial administration in the transitional government of Prime Minister Soumana Sacko. Diabira and others in the military opposed not only the movement toward multiparty democracy but also a negotiated settlement with the Tuareg rebels. It was opposition to the latter that motivated Diabira and seven other officers to stage an unsuccessful coup d'etat on July 15, 1991. He and the others were arrested.

#### DIAKITE, MAMADOU (b. 1923).

Veterinarian, politician, and administrator. He was born in Kona in the Mopti *cercle* and received his degree from veterinary school in 1943. Serving as director of cabinet in the Ministry of Livestock in 1957, during the colonial regime, Diakité became commissioner of livestock from 1959 to 1961. In January 1961, he was appointed secretary of state for defense and security, a post he held until November 19, 1968, when he was arrested during the coup d'etat. He was held in detention for several years and then released.

#### DIAKITE, CAPT. YORO (1932-1973).

Army officer and author. He was born in Bangassi, a small village in the Kita *cercle*, and attended the Ecole Rurale in Kassaro and the

Ecole des Enfants de Troupe in Kati. Entering the army in 1951, he served in Sénégal and Indochina. In 1956, he entered the Ecole de Fréjus as an active student officer. After returning from France, he was stationed at Thiés in Sénégal, and in 1960 was sent to the Congo as part of the United Nations peacekeeping mission. Returning to Mali, he was promoted to lieutenant and stationed in Timbuctoo and in Bamako at the Etat-Major (General Staff). He was then appointed director of the Ecole Militaire Interarmes at Kati where he played a key role in planning the coup d'etat of 1968. (On a few previous occasions, he had attempted to organize a coup against Modibo Keita.) After the coup, Diakité was made first vice president of the Military Committee of National Liberation (CMLN) and head of the government. Replaced as head of the government, he remained minister of transport, telecommunications, and

tourism until 1970. From September 1970 until April 1971, he was minister of the interior, security, and defense. Along with Malik Diallo, he was accused by the CMLN of plotting against the security of the state and expelled from the government, the army, and the committee. On July 31, 1972, he was sentenced to life in prison at hard labor. He died in prison in 1973 of undisclosed causes.

Diakité favored closer ties with France and the West, and consequently came into conflict with those members of the military committee who favored maintaining Mali's long-standing special relationships with the Communist bloc. He also favored long-term military rule and was supported in this by other members of the CMLN.

Diakité's military seniority and beliefs brought him into conflict with Moussa Traoré and Filifing Sissoko, both of whom favored limited power sharing with civilians. As a senior officer in the CMLN and one with a following both in the committee and in the country where he was admired and liked, Diakité was a distinct threat to Moussa Traoré. Diakité was the author of a novel, *Une Main Amie* (1969), the preface to which was written by former President Modibo Keita.

DIALLO, ALY NOUHOUN. (1940- ).

Politician who served as political secretary of ADEMA and who in 1992 was elected President of the National Assembly.

DIALLO, BOUBACAR (1928-February 5, 1989).

Malian politician and diplomat. Once a post-office employee, he served under the Keita government as ambassador to Sénégal and Mauritania in 1967 and 1968. From 1971 to 1977, he was ambassador to Egypt, concurrently accredited to Kuwait, Lebanon, and Libya. In 1979, he became minister of labor and public function, a post he had previously held from 1968 to 1970. From 1982 to March 1987 he was

administrative secretary of the UDPM and then was elected deputy secretary general of the party. Together with Djibril Diallo, the political secretary of the party, he was an architect of the charter of national orientation and public life, a UDPM document released in 1987 aimed at raising the level of morality in Malian politics. At the time of his death, he was the second-ranking figure in the Traoré regime.

DIALLO, DJIBRIL.

Political leader who served as the political secretary of the UDPM during the presidency of Moussa Traoré. In 1987, he and Boubacar Diallo, the UDPM's deputy secretary-general, were the chief architects of the national charter of national orientation and public life. On February 19, 1991, in a break with official UDPM policy, he publicly advocated multiparty democracy.



## DIALLO DYNASTY.

A dynasty of chiefs and kings that ruled the Peul kingdom of Macina for 400 years from 1400 to 1810. See PEUL KINGDOM.

### DIALLO, MADI (b. 1928).

Diplomat and administrator who was educated at the Ecole Nationale de la France Outre-Mer. Between 1960 and 1963, he served successively in the following posts: director of cabinet in the Secretariat of State for Labor and Social Affairs; in the Ministry of State, he was in charge of the Civil Service and Ministry of Justice. In 1964, Diallo was appointed governor of the *région* of Mopti, a post he held with great distinction until 1968. From 1968 to 1969, he served as director of cabinet, Ministry of the Interior, Defense, and Security. In 1969, he was named ambassador to France, Switzerland, and Spain, a post he held until 1975. Between 1979 and 1980, he served as minister of finance and commerce and, in 1980, became minister of animal husbandry, waterways, and forests.

### DIALLO, CAPT. MALIK (d. 1973).

Army officer, who was a member of Comité Militaire de Liberation Nationale (CMLN). In 1971, he was expelled from the CMLN and on July 31, 1972, along with Captain Yoro Diakité, was accused of plotting against the security of the state and sentenced to forced labor for life. He was later released from prison.

### DIALLO, SEYDOU (b. 1926).

Malian trade unionist who was born in Kayes. Educated at the Noisseau France School in Bamako and the Castel de Gorée School in Sénégal, Diallo trained as an radio telegrapher with Radio Gorée. From 1951 to 1952, he was secretary-general of the Postal Federation in Dakar, Sénégal, and from 1952 to 1953, he was deputy secretary-general of the Sénégalaise National Workers Union. In 1956, Diallo

was vice president and general council member of the World Federation of Trade Unions. He was the secretary of the Union Generale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire from 1957 to 1958 and, from 1961 to 1966, he served as Mali ambassador to Cuba, Egypt, Algeria, and Saudi Arabia. In 1966, he became a member of the UN Committee for Decolonization. In 1968, he served as deputy director for labor and technical counselor in the Ministry of Labor. In 1970, he became secretary-general of the Malian Civil Service Union and in 1971 president of the coordination committee of the Mali trade unions.

**DIARRA, LT. COL. AMADOU BABA.**

Military officer who as a lieutenant in 1968 participated in organizing the coup d'etat against Modibo Keita. A member of the Military Committee of National Liberation

(CMLN) since November 1968, Diarra was elected its vice president in 1968, and re-elected in 1973. From September 1970 to May 1973, he served as minister of finance and commerce. In January 1974, he was promoted to the military rank of *chef de bataillon*. Diarra was a powerful member of the governing military committee of Mali. In 1976, he was promoted to his present rank. Between 1975 and 1978, he was minister of education and development planning and then minister of finance (1978-79). Along with other members of the CMLN, he became a member of the central committee of the UDPM on June 28, 1979.

DIARRA, CHEICK MOUCTARY (b. 1939).

Malian journalist. Born in Ségou, he attended the Lycee Terrason Fougares from 1953 to 1958 (and in 1963). From 1961 to 1962, he went to the Lycee Douka in Guinea. From 1963 to 1969, he attended the University of Dakar (Licence en Lettres). In 1970 he became editor in chief of *L'Essor*, the national daily newspaper, and in 1971 deputy director of the Agence Nationale d'Information du Mali. In 1973 he was elected vice president of the National Union of Malian Journalists. He later served as the secretary-general of the Union of African Journalists.

DIARRA, CAPT. DIBY SILAS (1920-1970).

Army officer and administrator whose reputation as a martinet and efficient administrator was widely known in Mali. During the early 1960s, he helped put down the Tuareg Rebellion in the *cercle* of Kidal; later, he became commandant of the *cercle*, in charge of the national penitentiary. He expanded the post at Kidaldigging wells and planting extensive gardens and turned it into a pleasant enclave. Because Diarra was an intimate of Modibo Keita, his loyalty was suspect. In 1969, the military committee transferred him out of Kidal and sent him to Gao, where he served as governor of the *région*. That

same year he was transferred to Mopti; there, too, he served as governor for a few months. In spite of his short stay in Mopti, Diarra built dikes to keep the flood waters out of the town. In August, 1969, he was arrested (along with 32 other officers) and accused of plotting the August 14 overthrow of the military committee. Diarra, along with Capt. Alassane Diarra and Chief Sergeant Doubacar Traoré was sentenced to life in prison at hard labor on December 14, 1969. Other officers received lesser sentences, except for eight who were acquitted. Diarra was sent to the salt mines at Taoudeni during part of his imprisonment. He died in prison in 1970 after losing sight in one eye. *See COUP D'ETAT (PLANNED), August 14, 1969.*

#### DIARRA DYNASTY.

A dynasty of 10 kings who ruled the Bambara kingdom of Ségou from 1766 to 1862, when Ségou was conquered by

El Hadj Omar Tall. The most important of these Diarra kings were the first, N'Golo (1766-1790); his son Monson (1792-1808); and his grandson Da Monson (1808-1827).

During the reign of Da Monson, the new theocratic Peul empire of Macina under Cheikou Amadou emerged and effectively challenged Ségou's power along the eastern frontier. Da was succeeded by seven of his brothers, all sons of Monson. It was during the reign of the last of these, Ali, that El Hadj Omar invaded Ségou and Macina and routed the Diarra, eventually putting Ali to death. Contrary to the wishes of his family, Ali's predecessor, Touroukoro-Mari (1854-1856), had tried to negotiate with El Hadj Omar. He was killed by Kégue-Mari, Monson's eighth son, who allowed the ninth, Ali, to become *fama*.

After Ali's arrest, Kégue-Mari rallied the Bambara forces and became their leader. He resided at Touna, today approximately 20 minutes by road from Ségou, the Tukulor capital. Kégue-Mari effectively prevented the Tukulor from achieving total subjugation of the Bambara. Upon his death in 1870, he was replaced by a nephew, Nienemba II, a son of Da who moved his capital to Sambala, not far from Touna. Nienemba II was replaced in 1878 by Mamourou, who in turn was followed by Massatoma (1878-1883), the ruler who moved the capital from Touna to Moribougou, a location closer to Djenné. Karamoko, who ruled from 1883 to 1887, even threatened the walls of Ségou where Amadou Tall, the ruler of the Ségou Tukulor empire, lived.

As was so often the case, the contending males of the dynasty could not put aside their rivalries. Karamoko poisoned his cousins, Togoma and Monson, sons of his uncle Tiefolo. He himself was poisoned by N'to, a brother of Togoma and Monson, and was succeeded by his

brother Mari in 1887. The French under Archinard maintained cordial relations with the Diarra in hopes of receiving support in their war against the Tukulor; the support was forthcoming. When the French took Ségou on April 6, 1890, they installed Mari Diarra as king under the terms of a protectorate. Captain Underberg remained in Ségou as resident. Underberg allegedly uncovered a plot by Mari Diarra to massacre him and his small detachment of troops and Bodian. In a preemptive action, Underberg arrested Mari Diarra and his associates and then shot them on May 29, 1890. This high-handed action was excessive even when set against the circumstances of the times. Mari Diarra was one of several rulers who had been used in Archinard's attempt to establish indirect rule in Ségou. But this strategy created significant tension because Archinard had installed Bodiana rival Massassi Bambara prince in Nangonear the Ségou as a check on Mari Diarra. Similarly, Archinard placed Mademba Sy, a Tukulor and former telegraph operator, as ruler of Sansanding. While the rule of the Diarra dynasty formally ended in 1862, its members effectively

governed large sections of their former kingdom despite the Tukulor presence. The fact that they were able to maintain their capital so close to the capital of the Tukulor demonstrates that they were still a significant force in this region. *See* SEGOU KINGDOM; N'GOLO DIARRA; MONSON DIARRA; DA MONSON DIARRA; TON MASSA; SEGOU TUKULOR EMPIRE; TABLE 3.

#### DIARRA, IDRISSE.

Politician who served in the powerful position of political secretary of the National Political Bureau of the Union Soudanaise-RDA. He was also a delegate to the National Assembly and served as the editor of *L'Essor*, the national newspaper. In August 1967, he was denounced as being "antiparty, antipeople, and anti-Malian," the phrase then used most frequently by Modibo Keita. Though removed from all his official positions, Diarra was not arrested. He was among the first victims of Modibo Keita's purge, which was part of the cultural revolution Keita launched in 1967.

#### DIARRA KINGDOM.

An important kingdom that existed for 700 years, from the eleventh through the eighteenth centuries, in what is now northwestern Mali and southern Mauritania. The kingdom was founded by the Niakité (Diakhaté, Diakaté) clan of Soninké at the time of the collapse of the Ghana empire. It took its name from the town of Diarra, which was founded in the eighth century and situated a few miles northeast of the modern town of Nioro. The Niakaté ruled Diarra until about 1270, during which time it was a vassal state first of Sosso and then of Mali. In 1270, Fie Mamadou Diawara usurped power, founding the Diawara dynasty that lasted until the mid-eighteenth century. Diarra never achieved the political importance of a number of states of the western Sudan. It became a vassal of Songhay under Askia Mohammed, but achieved independence after the fall of Songhay. The kingdom was of

considerable economic importance in the region because the trade routes between the Sénégal and Niger Rivers passed through it. In 1754, Diarra was finally annexed by Sey Bamana Coulibaly, who had founded a second Bamana kingdom of Kaarta. *See KAARTA KINGDOM.*

DIARRA, MAMADOU (b. 1927).

Malian diplomat born in San. From 1946 to 1949, he attended the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Katibougou, after having attended primary schools in Mali (San, Korientze, Kita Koutiala, Sikasso, and Bamako). From 1949 to 1952, he served as director of the primary school at Sanga, *cercle* of Bandiagara, and then as a teacher at the Ecole Annexe in Koulikoro (1952-57). Between 1957 and 1959, he was director of the regional school at Macina and then (1959-61) became director of the Ecole Primarire in



the Dar-es-Salaam quarter of Bamako. He was head of the cultural division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1961-66) and, from 1966 to 1967, was first counselor in Mali's permanent mission to the United Nations. Between 1967 and 1969, he served as ambassador to the Soviet Union, concurrently accredited to Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Mongolia. Between 1969 and 1972, he was head of the cultural and technical assistance division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Between January and November 1973, he was executive secretary of the Organization of African Unity Mission to the U.N. In 1973, he was appointed director of the Cultural and Scientific department of the OAU in Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia.

DIARRA, OUMAR BABA (b. 1929).

Politician and cabinet minister in the Modibo Keita government. Born in Bamako, Diarra graduated from the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Bamako and from the Faculty of Law at the University of Montpellier. He worked briefly as an economist in Paris after obtaining a diploma in political economy. In 1958, he returned to Mali and became director of cabinet of the Ministry of Public Function, a post he held until 1959 when he was named secretary of state for labor and social affairs. In 1961, he was named secretary of state for livestock and animal industries, and finally secretary of state for public function and labor. In 1962, he became president of the fourth session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. In 1964, he was elected vice president of the African Regional Conference of the International Labor Organization and served as a chairman of the board of the organization from 1965 to 1966. At the time of the coup d'etat, he was minister of public function and labor. Arrested by the military committee on November 19, 1968, he was held in detention for several years before being released.

DIAWARA.

An ethnic group numbering about 100,000, living in the *cercles* of Nioro and Nara. The group members speak Sarakolé, the language of a more numerous group by whom they are surrounded, but they are not a subgroup of the Sarakole. According to legend, they descended from a common ancestor, Daman Guille.

DIAWARA, ASSIM (b. 1939).

A lawyer who graduated from the University of Paris and who received a diploma from the Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales of Paris. In 1973, Diawara was named director general of political administrative and financial affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and between 1973 and 1975 served as minister of trade. He later served as minister of labor and public function and minister of rural development.

DICKO, HAMADOUN (d. 1964).

Politician and close associate and ally of Fily Dabo Sissoko, who in 1946 founded the Parti Progressiste Soudanais (PSP), a conservative party loyal to the French. Following heavy election losses to the Union Soudanaise-RDA in 1956, Fily Dabo Sissoko and his followers took the name Parti du Regroupement Soudanais (PRS). Their effort failed and when Sissoko merged with the US-RDA in 1959, Hamadoun Dicko founded an opposition party, the Parti du Regroupement du Soudan, which lasted for three months.

In 1962, Dicko, Sissoko, and Kassoum Touré were arrested and charged with treason. It was alleged that they had incited the riot that took place in Bamako on July 20, 1962, at the time the nonconvertible Mali franc was issued. Accused with plotting a coup d'etat, they and 94 others were judged by a "popular tribunal," sentenced to death, and later given life in prison at hard labor. On August 3, 1964, the National Political Bureau announced that the three had been killed in an ambush in the *cercle* of Kidal while being transported to Bouressa. The statement implied that the three tried to escape and seek refuge with the Tuareg rebels. This explanation has been held suspect by many and it is generally believed that the prisoners were summarily shot, on orders from Modibo Keita.

DIEMA.

A *cercle* of the Kayes *région* that, until the 1977 administrative reform, was an *arrondissement* of the Nioro *cercle*. In 1994, Diema had a total population of approximately 105,000 people, most of whom were Soninké and Khassonké subsistence farmers and Peul and Maure pastoralists. The *cercle* is divided into seven *arrondissements* and its *chef-lieu* is the town of Diema.

DIKORO COULIBALY.

Son of Biton said to have ruled between 1755 and 1757. Some traditions claim that Dikoro succeeded his brother Bakari (Ali). Oral traditions maintain that Dikoro was deposed and killed because he was a cruel despot. His assassination was organized by Kafa-Diougou, a *ton djon* leader who was elected king a few years later. Dikoro may have been deposed not only because of alleged cruelty and injustice but also because of his attempts to impose authoritarian rule on a *ton djon* that considered itself equal to its ruler. Indeed the *ton djon* soon passed into a period during which they were able to elect their own king. See BITON COULIBALY; COULIBALY DYNASTY; TON DJON; TABLE 3.

DIO.

A small Bambara village to the west of Bamako in the *arrondissement* of Negala. On May 2, 1880, Gallieni and his party were attacked by the Bambara of Bélé Dougou at Dio. Gallieni lost 14 of his

men and almost all his supplies. He escaped across the Niger at Touréla, on his way to Ségou to secure a treaty with Amadou, the Tukulor emperor, whom the Bambara viewed as a usurper and a foreign power. Gallieni's declared intention of visiting Amadou engendered Bambara hostility. He was attacked by Naba Traoré of Daban. In January 1883, soldiers under General Borgnis-Desbordes arrived at Daban and demanded the return of Gallieni's supplies. When Naba Traoré refused, Captain Pietri ordered the French to attack. The village was destroyed and the Bambara were routed. See GALLIENI.

#### DIOILA.

A *cercle* of the *région* of Koulikoro covering 13,000 square miles and located around the headwaters of the Bani River. Its population of 220,000 comprises mostly Bambara farmers who, for the most part, are animists. The *cercle* is subdivided into six *arrondissements*. The *chef-lieu* is the town of Dioila, whose population numbers 6,000. Prior to the administrative reform of 1977, the *cercle* was part of the Bamako region.

#### DIOULA.

An ethnic group, also called Dyula, found scattered in many areas of Mali, especially in the south. They number about 80,000 and are primarily merchants who speak a Manding language akin to Bambara.

#### DIRE.

A small *cercle* of the Timbuctoo *région* covering 1,750 square kilometers of flood plain and dry sahel. Diré's 100,000 inhabitants are mostly Peul, Songhay, and Tuareg. The *cercle* is divided into four *arrondissements*. Heinrich Barth passed through the *cercle* on his way to Timbuctoo. Prior to the administrative reform of 1977, Diré was part of the Gao *région*.

## DJENNE.

(1) An ancient city founded about the thirteenth century by the Soninké. By the sixteenth century, Djenné had grown into both a commercial center and a center for Islamic scholarship.

In the fourteenth century, it came under the control of the Mali Empire and in 1468 was captured by Sonni Ali Ber, the Songhay emperor. In the sixteenth century, Djenné came under the control of the Moroccans. In the early nineteenth century, it fell under the domination of Cheikou Amadou's theocratic empire and then in 1861 to El Hadj Omar. Archinard took the city after a bloody battle in 1893. Throughout all its troubled history, Djenné remained a center of Moslem learning and an entrepôt for gold, slaves, civet, salt, gum, and kola nuts. The great mud mosque in Djenné, a massive structure built in 1905, is world famous. The former mosque was destroyed in 1830 by Cheikou Amadou. The city is noted for its splendid architecture. Built

essentially on an island eminence in the flood plain, Djenné can only be reached by water during the high water season, otherwise it can be reached by road. The city has a population of 15,000. While still a center of Moslem learning, it has lost its commercial preeminence to Mopti.

(2) A *cercle* covering some 4,500 square kilometers and having a population of 150,000. Livestock, subsistence farming, fishing, and trading provide the economic base for the area.

#### DJENNE-JENO (JENNE-JENO).

An ancient city founded around the third century B.C. that flourished until its decline in the eleventh century A.D. Although the mound that constitutes Djenné-Jeno has been known of since colonial times, it was not excavated until 1977 when two archaeologists from Rice University, Susan Keech McIntosh and Roderick J. McIntosh, began digs.

Djenné-Jeno is located some three kilometers from present-day Djenné on an elevation in the flood plains. Since 1977, the McIntoshes have been conducting annual dry-season digs at Djenné-Jeno, unearthing a wealth of new information that has altered long-established theories about urban development in sub-Saharan West Africa. The McIntoshes estimate that Djenné-Jeno may have had a population of 10,000 by 800 A.D., and that it was a major riverine trading center. Its decline may have been due to the refusal of Islamic elites to live in a city "contaminated" by the practices of an indigenous religion. But other factors may have been responsible as well.

The fact that early Arab geographers and travelers do not mention either Djenné or Djenné-Jeno has been interpreted by some modern scholars to mean that these settlements were unimportant. It may be that such oversight was intentional in the case of Djenné-Jeno.

Moslems not willing to admit the existence of a thriving "pagan" civilization may have been more inclined to ignore the city than describe it. On the other hand, at the time of these early writings, Djenné-Jeno may already have been in a state of significant decline, and Djenné may still have been a relatively small settlement. It is significant that Islamic oral traditions in this area of Mali, while rich in details about Moslem Djenné's founding, are silent about Djenné-Jeno. This reality points up the general unreliability of oral traditions as sources for accurate historical information.

The excavations of the McIntoshes have so far shown that Djenné-Jeno's first inhabitants may have come from the southern Sahara. The first phase of occupation lasted from about 250 B.C. to 300 A.D. The second phase (c. 300-c. 800 A.D.) reveals the use of large burial urns and luxury ware, this usage reflecting a high level of success and sophistication based on trade. From c. 800 A.D. onward, mud bricks were



used in house construction, refuting the belief that they came to the Western Sudan with Es Saheli in the fourteenth century. During this time, terra-cotta statues were made for ritual purposes not yet fully understood. The serpent motif is prominent in many of these statues, as well as in other terra-cotta objects. Over the years, similar terra-cotta statues have been uncovered in other areas of the inland delta of the Niger. Nowadays, a number of imitations are made in Mali by art merchants. Djenné-Jeno reached its zenith between c. 700-1000 A.D. The excavations at Djenné-Jeno have unearthed the most important new historical information on this part of the world. Modern scientific techniques have been applied to archaeological remains to bring to light the story of an ancient civilization whose existence was either accidentally or intentionally omitted by less-than-sympathetic Moslem chroniclers and Moslem oral traditionalists.

#### DJITOUMOU.

Lying along the right bank of the Niger, a traditional area of the Bambara Country to the south of the city of Bamako.

#### DJOUDER.

A Spanish soldier from Las Cuevas and a favorite of the Sultan el Mansur of Morocco. On October 16, 1590, Djouder assumed command of a 4,000-man Moroccan force that invaded Songhay. Djouder was given the title of Pasha. Two months after crossing the Sahara, he and his troops arrived on the banks of the Niger River at Karabara near Bamba. On April 12, 1591, he engaged the 40,000-man Songhay army at Tankondibo near Tondibi, 35 miles north of Gao. There was little loss of life on either side, but the Songhay fled in panic from the Moroccan muskets. Djouder then moved on to Gao and was struck by its squalid and miserable appearance. The Askia Ishaq II was anxious to negotiate peace and so was Djouder, who saw himself in a precarious position. Djouder sent el Mansur a letter

describing the poverty of Gao, and Ishaq's terms for military withdrawal. El Mansur responded by sending a new pasha to replace Djouder; Mahmoud bin Zergoun arrived in Timbuctoo on August 17, 1591.

On leaving Gao, Djouder proceeded to Timbuctoo, arriving on May 30, 1591. Djouder decided to quarter his army in the best section of the city, at that time occupied primarily by Ghadames merchants. The population was evicted, and Djouder proceeded to build a fort, incurring great resentment because of his actions. (Mahmoud replaced Djouder as pasha shortly thereafter.) In late 1591, Mahmoud assigned Djouder to Gao, placing him in charge of a garrison there. In 1595, Mahmoud was killed by arrow wounds at Almina Oualo, near Douentza, while in pursuit of Askiah Nouh. He was replaced as pasha in March 1595, by Mansour bin Abd el Rahman. Djouder came into conflict with Mansour because the latter commanded all the troops and the former was

in charge of the administration of the region. When Mansour died on November 8, 1596, it was alleged that Djouder poisoned him.

On December 28, 1597, a new pasha, Mohammed Tuba, arrived from Morocco with 1,000 men. He relieved Djouder of his command but died May 11, 1598. It was alleged that Djouder not only poisoned him, he also eliminated rival Moroccan commander el Moustapha, who was strangled at Kabara on July 4, 1598. A new pasha, Ammar, did not arrive until 1599. In the interim, Djouder assumed control. The Moroccan sultan, informed of Djouder's intrigues, ordered Djouder to return to Morocco, but Djouder successfully convinced him to send a replacement first. Eventually Ammar was sent.

After spending almost eight years in the western Sudan, Djouder returned to Morocco on March 25, 1599. His recall was prompted not so much by the sultan's displeasure with his performance but rather because el Mansur had to call upon the best elements of his army to put down a rebellion by the crown prince el Ma'mun. Djouder was placed in charge of this effort. El Mansur died in August 1603 en routewith Djouderfrom Fez to Marrakech. During the subsequent civil war among the sultan's three sons, Djouder supported the claim of Abou Fares. Abou Fares was eventually conquered by his brother's son Moulay Abdallah, who had a number of Abou Fares' generals beheaded (including Djouder) in 1603 and 1604.

Djouder rendered enormous service to the Sultan el Mansur. He had been allied with el Mansur's brother. Of all the pashas who were sent to the western Sudan, he had the greatest impact. By all accounts he was a gifted leader. *See* MOROCCAN INVASION; MOROCCAN OCCUPATION; SONGHAY EMPIRE.

DOCHARD.

*See* GRAY.

## DOGON.

A well-known but relatively small ethnic group who live on-the Bandiagara plateau and sand dunes of the Seno. Numbering about 320,000, the Dogon live in *cercles* of Koro, Bankass, Bandiagara, and Douentza. Many reside in picturesque villages on the spectacular Bandiagara cliffs. Their traditional way of life and religion, also their art forms, have survived into modern times and have been the objects of much study by Marcel Griaule and his associates. The Dogon speak a distinct language, of which there are several dialects; they are industrious farmers who are slowly converting to Islam. The Dogon are also known as the Habé and Cadau.

## DOLO, SOMINE (1924-1972).

Physician and cabinet minister. Born in Sanga in the Dogon country, Dolo was encouraged in his early education by Professor Marcel Griaule, who was in Dogon country

conducting extensive field research. Dolo obtained a medical degree from the School of Medicine in Dakar and from the Faculty of Medicine in Paris in 1956. His doctoral thesis dealt with liver cancer in black Africa. On March 31, 1957, he was elected a territorial counselor from Bandiagara and became a deputy to the legislative assembly of the Sudanese Republic in 1968. In 1959, he was re-elected to the legislative assembly of the Sudanese Republic, which in 1960 became the National Assembly of Mali. In 1957, he was named minister of public health, a position he held until the military coup d'etat in 1968. During the Modibo Keita regime, Dolo was the only Dogon to occupy an important cabinet position. He was in Dakar attending a ministerial meeting of the OCCGE at the time of the coup d'etat but voluntarily returned to Bamako a few days later. In 1969, he was named regional director of Public Health of the Bamako *région*, a post he held until his death from a heart attack in 1972.

#### DOUENTZA.

An arid *cercle* of the Mopti *région* covering 23,312 square kilometers of sahel and rough mountain terrain. Its population is primarily Peul, Songhay, and Dogon. Some Tuareg live in the eastern part of the *cercle*, as do a few Bambara, descendants of those who fled Ségou in the seventeenth century. Livestock raising is an important occupation for most of the Peul. The Dogon, Bambara, and Songhay are engaged in subsistence agriculture. The *cercle* encompasses a number of the great lakes of the inland delta, including Lake Niangay and Lake Korarou, and the spectacular Hombori mountains. Boré, Hombori, and Boni are important centers. From 1974 to 1986, Mali and Upper Volta were involved in a dispute over the position of their common frontier, which, in Mali, delineates Douentza. Douentza's 180,000 people are spread over six *arrondissements*.

#### DOUKARA, LT. COL. KISSIMA.

Military officer and an important member of the Military Committee of National Liberation. From 1968 to 1970, he served as chief of cabinet of the minister of defense, interior, and security, becoming minister of state responsible for this ministry in 1970. From 1972 on, he directed Mali's drought-relief efforts. He was promoted to the rank of Lt. Col. in 1976. Doukara's power and position, both in the CMLN and with the people, rose enormously beginning in 1974 when he was placed in charge of Mali's drought-relief efforts and, simultaneously, when the border dispute with Upper Volta resulted in an expansion of the army. As early as 1974, however, it was widely known that Doukara and others were embezzling enormous sums of money given by foreign donors for the drought-relief effort. (Because Mali was an impoverished country, corrupt officials could embezzle only from relief funds or foreign aid.)

Doukara was a member of the seven-man core that essentially dominated the CMLN and formulated Mali's foreign and domestic policies. He and his close associate on the CMLN, Tiecoro Bagayoko, were feared and despised both for their power and for their abuse of it. Doukara and others on the committee opposed Moussa Traoré's plans for power sharing with civilians; but he went along with Traoré after several years of protracted negotiations within the committee. In 1976, Traoré moved the country closer to placing a civilian veneer on his military rule with the firm establishment of the Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien. During 1977, Traoré sent the members of the CMLN into the provinces in order to build up grassroots support for the UDPM. As these events came to pass, both Doukara and Bagayoko saw their power and its perquisites threatened. Traoré probably sensed that strong opposition to the ultimate dissolution of the CMLN would come from a group within the committee headed by Doukara. According to some analysts, he purposely chose to accuse Doukara of massive embezzlement of drought-relief funds on January 3, 1978, so as to remove him as a threat. The official government account states it was on this date that the president came upon incontrovertible evidence of Doukara's embezzlement. This account was hardly credible because Doukara's corruption had been common knowledge for almost four years. And it was also widely known that other members of the military had lined their pockets with relief aid. Doukara was asked to step down as minister of defense, interior, and security. He refused to do so, however, telling the president that they had come to power together and would leave together. The president was unable to get a majority of the CMLN to back his demand that Doukara resign, partly because few were innocent of the charges that were being levied against Doukara. In defending Doukara, they were defending themselves, not knowing whether Traoré might have long-term plans for their ouster.

For, after all, this was a committee in which there were numerous rivalries for power and one whose meetings were not infrequently characterized by violent confrontations that ended in fisticuffs.

According to the official version, Doukara and Bagayoko knew that the evidence for massive corruption was stacked heavily against them. But there was abundant proof that similar evidence existed against most members of the CMLN; it was merely a matter of degree.

Because of the increased pressure against them so the official account goes Doukara and Bagayoko decided they had to assassinate the president. They elaborated a plan in which Madame Fatou Tall, who had recently been removed as secretary-general of the Union Nationale des Femmes Maliennes, would stir up market women and vendors to demonstrate against military rule. Students and workers



would also demonstrate. Army units would then surround the headquarters of the CMLN to protect the president. In the *melée*, however, he and his supporters would be killed.

Col. Charles Samba Sissoko, the minister of foreign affairs and cooperation and a member of the CMLN, would conveniently be out of the country at the time. Upon his return, he would become president (with Doukara and Bagayoko retaining real power). On February 28, 1978, President Traoré convened a special meeting of the CMLN. Doukara and Bagayoko were arrested when they arrived. Lt. Col. Karim Dembélé, a member of the CMLN and minister of public workers, was also arrested. Thus the planned coup of 1978 never occurred. Sissoko was arrested in March. Doukara, the other three members of the CMLN, and many military personnel were tried before the State Security Court in October 1978, at which time they charged their accusers with corruption and political crimes. Doukara was sentenced to death. A second trial of the State Security Court was held in Timbuctoo between February 27 and March 8, 1979, on the corruption charges against Doukara and others. At this trial, Doukara was again given a death sentence for embezzling \$9 million of relief funds. But this verdict was thrown out by the supreme court on June 11, 1979. Doukara and Bagayoko were sent to the salt mines at Taoudeni where both died in 1983. *See COUP D'ETAT, PLANNED 1978; TIECORO BAGAYOKO.*

#### DROUGHT (1970-1974).

A severe drought that occurred in the Sahel of West Africa and which, in Mali, primarily affected the *région* of Gao, an area now divided into three *régions*, Kidal, Timbuctoo, and Gao. Although annual rainfall began diminishing in the Sahel in 1968, it was not until late 1972 that the situation became catastrophic in Mali's northern region, an area inhabited by sparse populations of nomads and Songhay

farmers.

Most of those affected in Mali were Tuareg and Maure pastoralists. The Malian government was extremely slow to respond to the evolving crisis, however. In most of the country there was adequate rainfall, and in Bamako, the capital, life went on as usual, there being virtually no awareness that drought and famine existed in the north. The famine affected the nomads more than it did the sedentary Songhay farmers, depleting them of their herds and forcing them into settlements, an event to which the government was not averse.

As proven by their revolt of 1962 to 1964, the Tuareg have, since Mali's independence, constituted a potential secessionist political force. Many observers saw the government's indifference to their plight as an attempt to break them, once and for all, as a potential political force. At the height of the drought, many Tuareg fled to both

Algeria and Niger because the Malian government had done nothing for them. It was in part the buildup of these increasing numbers of Malian refugees with their stories of Malian government indifference that forced the Malians to make an effort to help the nomads of the north. By July 1974, there were, in Mali's northern regions, 80,000 refugees in 30 camps. (Approximately 20,000 people had gone to neighboring countries.) Most were nomads. Their plight was alleviated by a massive international assistance program directed at all countries of the Sahel. A good deal of this assistance never reached the refugees but was siphoned off for the urban elite in Bamako and embezzled by military leaders for personal use. After being pressured and embarrassed by international organizations and foreign governments into doing something for its nomad refugees, the Malian government finally established refugee centers.

In 1974 and 1975, rainfall was normal in Mali's north and most of the refugees left the camps. In Mali and other countries of the Sahel, a number of long-term studies and programs aimed at solving some of the area's basic problems were undertaken. The fact that another famine occurred in Mali's north in 1984 and 1985 is strong evidence that many of these efforts failed. It is estimated that approximately 100,000 people died throughout the six-country region during this drought. Livestock losses in the Gao *région* were estimated at 50%. Because most of the livestock in Mali is found in the Mopti *région*, the national herd was not substantially imperiled. By 1980, herd size in the north returned to its pre-drought levels. In 1974, Mali and other countries in West Africa established the Comité Interétats Pour La Lutte Contre la Sécheresse Sahélienne (CILSS). This organization set up the Sahel Institute in Bamako as a research center.

#### DROUGHT (1984-1985).

In 1984, rainfall in most of Mali was extremely light. Below-normal

rains also fell in the highlands of Guinea where the Niger River originates. In contrast to the 1970-1974 drought, this one affected most of the country but was brief in duration. Due to their normal marginal existence, northern Mali's pastoralists and farmers were seriously affected by this drought. A number of Tuaregs left Mali to join refugees who had settled in southern Algeria during the 1970-1974 drought.

In the cereal-growing areas of the country, many crops failed because of sparse rainfall. In addition, the level of the Niger River fell to the lowest point ever recorded. At Bamako, it was possible to walk across the river's bed. The low level of the Sankarani River adversely affected hydroelectric production at the Selingué dam which supplies Bamako with electricity.

The food shortages that resulted from this drought pointed out the

inadequacies and inappropriateness of many of the development strategies elaborated by foreign donors over the previous decade, many of them aimed at preventing drought-caused famine. The resumption of normal rains in 1986 effectively ended the drought.

DUPUIS-YAKOUBA, AUGUSTE. French missionary priest. In 1895, Dupuis-Yakouba arrived in Timbuctoo with Monsigneur Hacquard and two other priests in order to set up a Catholic mission. Dupuis-Yakouba was a member of the order popularly known as the White Fathers. After leaving the priesthood, he married, in Timbuctoo, an African woman by whom he had many children. Later, he was appointed an advisor to the military administration of Timbuctoo and was thus able to support himself. An ethnographer who wrote a number of papers describing the languages and customs of peoples living in the Niger Bend, he is sometimes referred to as the "White Monk of Timbuctoo." His real name was Auguste Dupuis.

DYELI. An African who belongs to a caste of individuals in many ways resembling the minstrels of medieval Europe. The Bambara word for griot is *dyeli* (singular), *dyeliu* (plural). They keep oral histories and genealogies and act as spokespersons for individuals. They engage in story-telling and buffoonery; in general, they are widely involved in all forms of communication. They sing, drum, and play musical instruments like the *kora*, a 21-string lute.

*Dyeliu* were usually attached to nobles, and in return for protection, sang their praises as well as the praises of the nobles' family and ancestors. For this, they were also generously rewarded.

There were and still are endogamous and non-*dyeliu* families in Mali who would consider marrying into this caste a disgrace. *Dyeliu* no longer live in segregated parts of villages. In Senegal, they were denied underground burial and were often interred in the hollows of

large baobab trees. Today, in Mali, many *dyeliu* are entertainers; they play musical instruments like the *kora*, while their wives or daughters sing. Much oral history is transmitted by *dyeliu*. But because of their historical relationships to patrons, such history is extremely vulnerable to distortion and, in the view of some scholars, rather unreliable. *Dyeliu* are outspoken and, in Mali, it is said that they have no shame. They are uninhibited and speak their mind in public, either slandering or praising someone based on how well or how badly that person has treated them.

There are a number of well-known contemporary *dyeliu* in Mali, some of whom have abandoned the traditional *kora* for electric guitars. Among the leading *dyeliu* are Batrou Sékou Kouyaté, Bazoumana Sissoko, who died in 1987, Sidiki Diabaté, Kélé Monson Diabaté,

Seydou Camara, Baba Cissoko. Tayiru Banbera, Sissoko Kabiné, and Al-Hadj Garanké Mamou Sylla.

Modern performers in the *dyeli* tradition include acoustic guitarists Bouba Sacko, and Jalimadi Tounkara, and vocalist Lafia Diabaté. Ali Farké Touré is a bard from Niafunké in the Niger Bend. Ousmane Sacko is a guitarist who has performed with his vocalist wife, Yiakaré Diabaté, in Europe. Two electric guitarists with large followings are Super Djata and Zani Diabaté, both of whom have produced recordings.

Well-known female vocalists include Fanta Damba, Kandia Kouyaté, and Oumou Sangaré, whose debut album, *Moussolou* (women), sold 200,000 copies in West Africa.

The French term *griot* is widely used in the literature to describe this group of historians, performers, and entertainers.

E

## COLE DES OTAGES.

In 1857, the School for Hostages was started at Saint-Louis by Louis Faidherbe. Other such schools already existedone started by Gallieni at Kayes in what is now Maliand served the sons of chiefs and rulers (a concept patterned on the indigenous African system of having the sons of conquered rulers serve an apprenticeship at the court of the conquerer). At these schools, the sons of rulers were inculcated with Western ideas and French culture. Interestingly, chiefs and rulers often did not send their own sons to these schools, but rather the children of slaves and subjects, saying that these children were their sons.

Ultimately, this deception resulted in the creation of an educated elite that consisted, in part, of the children of rulers and in part of the children of individuals who in the traditional scheme of things were of

low status. The school in Saint-Louis trained the sons of chiefs and Moslem clerics as interpreters as well. Eventually, the name of the school in Saint-Louis was changed to Ecole des fils des Chefs. In 1918, it became the Ecole Normale William Ponty.

#### ECOLE NORMALE WILLIAM PONTY.

The first institution of higher learning in French West Africa where many of the generation that were instrumental in obtaining Mali's independence were trained. The school started as the Ecole des Otages and assumed its name in 1918. It trained teachers, interpreters, clerks, and lower-level civil servants. African service in the armed forces of World War I played a part in the creation of the school; the French used the school to reward West Africans for their service to France. But another more obvious reason for the school's creation was the colonial administration's need



for administrative manpower. The school was eventually moved from Saint-Louis to Gorée, then to Sebitokane and then to Dakar where, after 1960, it was called the Ecole Normale Supérieure.

#### ECRIVAIN PUBLIQUE.

A writer who works at a table usually placed in front of post offices in Bamako and other large towns. The *ecrivain publique* writes letters for those who are not literate in French. The position is in gradual decline because of the extension of literacy in the population and the ability of the older illiterate generations to have letters written by literate children and grandchildren.

#### EDRISI or IDRISI (1099-1180?).

Arab geographer who worked in the service of Roger II of Sicily compiling the *Book of Roger*, a description of the world. In this book are descriptions of the ancient Kingdom of Ghana. Although Edrisi never visited the western Sudan, his writings on this region carried much weight for several centuries.

#### EL BEKRI, ABU OBEID (1028-1094).

A noted Arab geographer, born in Spain, whose writings contain a general account of the western Sudan. His major work was on geography; a copy of it is in the British Museum. His descriptions of the western Sudan, which he never visited, are considered by scholars to be reliable.

#### EL HADJ.

Title given to a man who makes the pilgrimage to Mecca. Men are called *El Hadji* and women *El Hadja*. Beginning in the eleventh century, pilgrimages were made to Mecca from what is now Mali. The route was usually overland via the Sahara to Cairo and then on to Arabia. Others traveled overland via northern Nigeria through the Sudan to the Red Sea. During the colonial period the administration

established the Hadj for favored cooperative Moslems, sending them to Arabia via ships. Later, charter flights were organized. Today, hundreds of Malians each year make the pilgrimage, usually on charter flights. In Mecca, they are lodged in prearranged quarters set aside for Malians. Many Malians go to Mecca several times a year, not for religious reasons but to trade gold dust for Western goods such as transistor radios and wristwatches.

EL HADJ OMAR TALL (1794-1864).

Founder of the Tukulor Empire. He was a Moslem cleric who led a series of religious wars (*jihads*) against the traditional nobilities of the Senegal-Niger region, and the European Christian colonists and established Qadiriya theocracies. By means of his conquest, he popularized the Tijaniya Sufi order throughout the western Sudan. A number of lesser *jihadists* modeled their activities after his and were active in the late nineteenth

century over large stretches of territory stretching from the Casamance in present-day Senegal to northern Nigeria.

El Hadj Omar was born at Halwar in the Futa Toro of Senegal, and it was there he received his early Islamic education. He was initiated into the Tijani brotherhood by visiting Idawali Moorish clerics. By 1825, he was widely respected as a learned cleric. The following year he traveled overland to Mecca, spending seven months with Mohammed Bello, who was then the *khalifa* of the Sokoto Khalifate in Hausaland. After spending almost five years in Arabia studying in Mecca and Medina, he was invested by Mohammed el Ghali Abu Talif as *khalifa* of the Tijaniya for the western Sudan. He returned to West Africa in 1832 and remained at Sokoto for seven years, marrying three women, one of whom was a daughter of Bello. In Sokoto, he acquired considerable prominence. For the times, El Hadj Omar received a truly grand Islamic education that few in the western Sudan could match. When Bello died in 1837, Omar left for home with a sizable following of disciples (*talibes*) and slaves. He was well received by Cheikou Amadou, himself a follower of the Qadiriya brotherhood. He then went on to Ségou where he was detained by the Bambara king Tiefolo Diarra, an event he never forgot and which he avenged many years later.

Omar settled not in his native Futa Toro but in the Futa Djalon, where he built a *zawiya* at Dyegounko. From his headquarters, he ran a large trading operation and obtained arms from the French trading posts along the Senegal River. As a result, he became rich and powerful in addition to gaining respect as a wise and scholarly man. His material wealth, in combination with his charismatic leadership and impeccable Islamic credentials, made him the perfect candidate to lead a *jihad*. In 1846, he began touring the Futa Djalon and Futa Toro, preaching and making converts. As his following increased, he felt

strong enough to break with the *Almamy* of Futa Djalon and fled on a hijra (a pre-*jihad* retreat) to Dinguiray. He did not plan to attack Futa Djalon, stating that his purpose was to overthrow the "pagan" Bambara kings of Ségou and Kaarta and establish Tijani Islam in their place. Omar criticized the existing Qadiri theocratic states (such as Macina) as corrupt, and he foreswore the superficially Moslem ones as not any better. Although he came into armed conflict with his neighbors in 1851, it was not until 1852 that he announced that he had received a divine revelation. Calling on all to submit to him and follow him, he launched his *jihad* in earnest and rapidly moved eastward into what is now Mali. In the process, he swept away the ruling groups in Khasso, Bambouk, Guidimaka, and Bondou during a period of three years.

Although Omar had previously avoided direct conflicts with the French, his call for Moslems from French-controlled areas such as Saint-Louis, Kajor, Jolof, Walo, and Futa Toro to join him made

him a French enemy. His influence and power were spreading in the same geographic areas that the French viewed as crucial to their trading monopolies and eventual colonial expansion. To stem the tide of anti-French feeling that Omar was stirring up throughout the western Sudan, the French cut off their supply of arms to him and launched an extensive and complex diplomatic effort characterized by intimidation and alliances in an attempt to detach other political leaders from him. By 1857, Omar's control of the old Bambara kingdom of Kaarta was complete, and he turned westward to confront the French in Khasso. He attacked and blockaded the French fort at Medine where Paul Holle led French troops that were in alliance with Sambala, the Khasso ruler. After three months, Faidherbe, the French governor in Saint-Louis, finally broke the blockade.

Omar was continuously having to deal with rebellions in the vast area that he had conquered; he also was faced with the problem of maintaining the loyalty of his own followers. Because of these struggles, and also because of his plan to invade Ségou, he had no desire to confront the French.

In 1861, he attacked the Bambara kingdom of Ségou and successfully defeated its forces. Ali Diarra, the king of Ségou, sought help from Amadou Amadou, the leader of Macina, but the latter was routed with his army near Ségou. There then followed several military engagements between Omar's and Macina's forces. Macina's political forces were divided because of pre-existing dynastic succession resentments, frictions which created a divided front against Omar. The older cousin of Amadou Amadou, Ba Lobbo Bari, played a significant role in this conflict because he was the principal leader of Macina's military forces. By mid-1862, Omar had routed the Macina forces and taken the capital of Hamdallaye. Amadou Amadou was captured and beheaded at Mopti, and his two contentious older cousins were

imprisoned.

The cousins plotted with Sidi el Bekaye (the Qadiri leader of the Kunta Arabs of Timbuctoo) to resist Omar, seeing that he was not going to allow them to assume the leadership of Macina. Omar had them arrested, but they escaped. In retaliation, he executed all the members of the ruling family in his custody, also Ali Diarra, the Bambara king whom he had captured earlier. Ba Lobbo and Abdul Salam, the two cousins of Amadou Amadou, then joined forces with Sidi el Bekaye and launched a serious rebellion that cost Omar his life. On February 6, 1864, they attacked Hamdallaye. Omar was forced to flee northeast to the hills near Dégeumbéré where, during the night, he was finally surrounded by Ba Lobbo's forces. They set fire to the bush and Omar died, probably from smoke inhalation, it is said, in a cave along with

two of his sons and several generals. (Other sources claim Omar died from an explosion of gun powder.)

Amadou Tall, Omar's eldest son who had been installed in Ségou during his father's absence in Macina, claimed the succession to the entire empire. However, the empire was not centralized and, consequently, Amadou was challenged by Omar's other sons and commanders, each of whom had independent armies and treasuries. The rivals attempted to slander Amadou by saying that he was the son of a slave (which in the purified Islam of Omar, would have barred him from the succession). Amadou was able to hold on to Ségou and other adjacent areas, but his cousin Tijani Tall took over control of Macina; Abibu Tall was *emir* of Dinguiray and another brother, Moktar Tall, was *emir* of Diomboko. Both Abibu and Moktar engaged in a series of civil wars with Amadou between 1870 and 1874. In 1883, Amadou was challenged by another brother, Muntaga Tall, whom he had appointed *wazir* of Kaarta in 1874. This civil war dragged on until 1885. Amadou was challenged at the same time by the appearance of Mamadou Lamine Dramé, by rebellions occurring among the Bambara of the Bélé Dougou, as well as by intensified French efforts to penetrate his domains. Following El Hadj Omar's death, his domains were troubled by protracted civil wars fought primarily among Amadou, his contentious brothers, and other powerful local Tukulor leaders. The empire that Omar left broke up into numerous small states whose allegiance to Amadou was, at best, tenuous.

El Hadj Omar's major written work is *Rimah hizb al-rahim 'ala nuhur hizb al rajim* (The Spears of the Party of the Merciful against the throats of the Party of the Damned.) The book provides detailed explanation and defense of Tijani ideas and teachings and is viewed by Tijani order members to be a major authoritative work. It is still

widely read and has been published in Cairo, Tunis, and Beirut.

#### EMIR.

Also known as Amir, an Arab title, equivalent to commander, used by precolonial Islamic communities to designate either military leaders or provincial governors. Aguibu Tall for example, was *emir* of Dinkiray. Cheikou Amadou, took the title *Amirou al moumenina*, Commander of the Faithful. Amadou Tall took a similar title, *Amir al muminin*, at a public ceremony in Nioro in 1870.

#### ESCALE.

A French term that means "port-of-call." In Mali and along the Senegal River in what is now Senegal, the term meant more than that and was extended to signify an organized annual fair at a given spot that was generally administered by local chiefs and rulers. These fairs took place from February through May, the grain- and gum-trading season. At the beginning of each *escale*, prices and other condi-



tions of trading were agreed upon and enforced by agents of local rulers. French gum-traders in particular were unhappy with this arrangement and for many decades tried to induce the French government to construct armed forts along the river from which they could trade. Eventually, in the mid-nineteenth century, they were successful. The protection of their interests became the motivation for many French diplomatic and military moves in the region.

ES-SADI, ABDERRAHMAN (1596-1655).

A scholar born in Timbuctoo who became a notary and then *imam* in Djenné. He later became *imam* in Timbuctoo. He was a *katib*, a title meaning secretary to the government. He is known for his history of the western Sudan, called the *Tarikh es Sudan*. The latter part of the history was based on his own knowledge; the first part, where he described the rise of the Songhay empire, was based on the works of earlier chroniclers. See AHMED BABA; TARIKH es SUDAN; TARIKH el FETTACH.

ES SAHELI, ABOU-ISHAQ IBRAHIM (d. 1346).

An Andalusian poet and architect who returned from Mecca to the Mali empire with Kankan Moussa. Though it was said that he introduced mud bricks into the western Sudan, this claim now is viewed as highly doubtful; archaeological evidence from Djenné-Djeno reveals that mud bricks were in use well before this. Es Saheli designed and built the Great Mosque at Timbuctoo, Dyringerey Ber, in the fourteenth century and built a new mosque at Gao for Kankan Moussa. He is credited with introducing new architecture and building techniques into the western Sudan. Ibn Batuta reported that his tomb was visible in Timbuctoo. He lived in Timbuctoo and had children who, as adults, lived in Walata. Abou-Ishaq Ibrahim Es Saheli died in Timbuctoo in 1346. Little is known about his life.

## EVOULE.

A term that was commonly used during the colonial period in French West Africa to designate someone who had received a French education or else had adopted French customs. An *evoulé* was able to change his legal status from *sujet* to *citoyen* by means of being classified as an *assimilé*. In Mali, during the postindependence period, the term is still used to characterize a highly educated individual, irrespective of where the person's education was received. *See* ASSIMILATION; ASSOCIATION.

## F

### FACTORY.

Small trading posts in West Africa that were established by European traders during the era of the slave trade. The person in charge of such a post was called a *factor* or an agent. During the

colonial period, the meaning of the two terms, factory and factor, was extended to describe trading posts set up by European trading houses in the interior and manned by Europeans, Lebanese, and Africans.

**FAIDHERBE, LOUIS LEON CESAR (1818-1889).**

A French general, colonial administrator, and author whose dream of a French empire stretching from Senegal to the Red Sea became the foundation for French West Africa. Born in Lille and educated at the Ecole Polytechnique and at Metz, he served in Algeria and the West Indies between 1844 and 1852. In 1852, he was sent to Saint-Louis in Senegal, then a fledgling colony, where in 1854 he became governor at the insistence of local Bordeaux merchants who thought he would promote their interests. His two terms as governor (1854-1861 and 1863-1865) were separated by the administration of Jean Bernard Jaureguiberry. Faidherbe prevented the westward spread of the Moslem Tukulor empire by advancing military posts along the Upper Senegal. He paved the way for French acquisition of most of present-day west and central Mali through an advantageous treaty with El Hadj Omar and by advancing military posts to the Niger River. Both he and the French traders wanted to extend French hegemony from the coast to the Niger and down to Sierra Leone. The traders, for their part, wanted to do away with the *escale* system and trade when and where they wanted, with no competition from the British. Faidherbe, relying on his Algerian experience, thought this could be done by building a series of forts linked by telegraph and supported by small, mobile military units. Faidherbe's plan was implemented, and it resulted in wars with numerous local states along the coast and up the Senegal River. Forts were built as far inland as western Mali at Medine. Faidherbe's actions, however, caused indigenous powers to arm themselves so as to better resist French conquest.

A half century passed before Faidherbe's dreams were realized. Under

his auspices, a number of exploratory missions were sent into what is now western and central Mali. Faidherbe was promoted to brigadier general for his accomplishments in West Africa. He resigned his post in 1865 and later served in North Africa and Egypt and commanded the French Army of the North during the Franco-Prussian War. He served in the French National Assembly and was elected a senator in 1879. He authored several important books, among which are *Essai sur la langue Peul* (1875), *Les Senaga des tribus sénégalaises* (1877), *Le Soudan Français* (1884), and *Le Sénégal* (1889).

FAMA.

The title in Bamana-ka which connotes king. It was applied to the Bambara rulers of the Ségou kingdom.

## FANA.

A small town 120 kilometers to the east of Bamako in the *cercle* of Ségou. In recent years Fana has undergone rapid growth due to the presence of a cotton-processing plant built in 1870. It is the *chef-lieu* of the *arrondissement* of Fana, which is part of the Dioila *cercle*. The population of Fana *arrondissement* is 95,000.

## FIRHOUN, AG EL INSAR (18?-1916).

Chief of Oulliminden Tuareg. The Tuareg submitted to the French at Gao in 1903. From 1911 to 1917, a drought deprived them of their usual pastures. In 1914, considerable unrest occurred among the Oulliminden in response to news of French military reverses in Europe. Under Firhoun, the Oulliminden revolted. The revolt was put down, and Firhoun was arrested. He was sentenced at Gao to 10 years imprisonment and 20 years of banishment. But in 1916, he was pardoned and released. That same year, he and his followers revolted again. They attacked Ménaka but were driven back, the French taking 5,000 camels, 15,000 cattle, and 30,000 sheep from the Oulliminden, which were given to loyal African troops. Firhoun fled to Anderamboukane, in the south of the *cercle* of Ménaka and was killed there on June 25, 1916, by a fellow Tuareg. The revolt of Saharan nomads was in part brought about by the reduction in military forces for service in Europe.

## FOFANA, DR. BENITIENI (1928-1991).

Distinguished physician and cabinet minister born in the town of San. He studied medicine in France and then specialized in nutrition and medical gynecology. He also obtained diplomas in applied biology, physical education, and sports medicine. From 1965 to 1968, he was director of nutrition services of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Affairs. In 1967-1968, he served as a special advisor to the national smallpox eradication and measles control program funded by

the U.S. Agency for International Development. From 1968 to 1973, he served as minister of public health and social affairs. From 1973 to 1974, he served as director of the Maternal and Infant Protection Service (PMI) and in 1975 became director of the Gynecology Service of the Gabriel Touré Hospital in Bamako from where he retired. He died in 1991 from lung cancer.

#### FORCED LABOR.

A policy adopted early by the French colonial administration in most of their west and central African territories. Village chiefs and canton chiefs were required to provide the manpower for public works construction, especially roads. Workers were not compensated and were often forced to labor against their will. Extremely unpopular, the forced labor policy was eventually discontinued during the later years of colonial rule. The policy is also called *corvée*.

#### FOULADOUGOU.

A traditional region lying within the bend of the Baoule River in western Mali in the *cercle* of Kita. Fouladougou is divided into Fouladougou Arbala and Fouladougou Saboula. To the south lies an area called the Birgo. Literally translated, Fouladougou means "the country of the Peul." The population today is Peul and Malinké.

#### FOYER DU SOUDAN.

A group formed in Bamako in 1944 after the liberation. A direct outgrowth of the Association des Lettrés, it was a union of the major voluntary associations in Bamako. Thus it brought together the educated elite and future political leaders and also prepared the way for the formation of political parties.

#### FRANC, CFA.

The currency of the states of former French West Africa (except Guinea and Mauritania, which have their own currency). When Mali withdrew and issued its own Mali Franc, a riot broke out on July 20, 1962. Mali was readmitted to UMOA in February 1984 and reissued the CFA franc in June 1984. The CFA franc is issued by the Banque Centrale des Etats d'Afrique de l'Ouest which, in 1974, moved its headquarters from Paris to Dakar. During the colonial era, the acronym CFA meant Colonies Françaises d'Afriques. After 1962, it meant Communauté-Financière Africaine. The CFA franc is convertible at parity with the Central African CFA franc; 1 CFA equaled 2 Mali francs after 1967; 100 CFA equal 1 French franc since the 50% devaluation of January 1994.

FRANC, MALI. The Mali franc was first issued on July 10, 1962, as a nonconvertible currency; Mali had just withdrawn from the Communauté-Financière Africaine (CFA). The first issue of bills, printed in Czechoslovakia, was replaced in 1966 by a new issue

bearing Modibo Keita's portrait. By 1967, Mali was in severe economic trouble and sought French assistance. This move led to the 1967 Franco-Malian financial agreements by which France guaranteed the Mali franc. Part of this agreement called for a 50% devaluation of the Mali franc; this devaluation took place in May 1967. The Mali franc then became convertible. There were 2 Mali francs to 1 CFA franc, and 100 Mali francs to 1 French franc. In 1973, Mali replaced the bills featuring Modibo Keita's portrait with an issue that, in color and design, resembled the CFA franc. Beginning in the late 1970s, Mali attempted, without success, to reenter UMOA; its entry was consistently blocked by Upper Volta's veto, this action stemming from the border dispute war (1974-75). Finally, in February 1984, UMOA voted Mali a member, and the CFA franc replaced the Mali franc on June 1, 1984. *See MALI FRANC RIOT.*



## FRENCH SUDAN (FRENCH SOUDAN, SOUDAN FRANCAIS).

The large territory in West Africa part of French West Africa that, in 1960, became the Republic of Mali. The territory was known by several different names and administered under different governance during the colonial era. Between 1880 and 1890 it was called the *Haut-Fleuve*, then successively as French Sudan (1890-1899), Upper Sénégal-Middle Niger (1899-1902), Senegambia-Niger (1902-1904), Upper Sénégal-Niger (1904-1920), and again French Sudan (1920-1958). Changes were also made in the borders of the territory, notably the addition of parts of Upper Volta to the French Sudan between 1932 and 1947. The colony was subordinate to Sénégal between 1880 and 1892 and from 1899 to 1904. Between 1880 and 1892, the colony was administered by a *commandant-supérieure* and then by lieutenant governors and governors. The former were military officers, the first of whom was Gustave Borgnis-Desbordes, and the last Pierre-Marie-Gustave Humbert (1891-1892). The first lieutenant governor, Louis Archinard, who had served as a *commandant-supérieure* (1888-1891), was a military officer, but thereafter the post was occupied by civilians. See TABLE 7.

## FRENCH WEST AFRICA.

See AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE FRANCAISE (AOF).

## FROBENIUS, LEO (1873-1938).

German ethnologist and explorer. Born in Berlin, Frobenius was largely self-taught. He made 12 expeditions to Africa between 1904 and 1935. He traveled through much of central and western Mali and made studies of the Dogon people, whose art he collected. As early as 1893, he began a collection of photographs and ethnographic materials. These made up the Africa Archives, which became the Forschungs-institut für Kultur-morphologie in 1922. In 1932, Frobenius was invited to be an honorary professor and teach cultural

anthropology at the University of Frankfurt. One of his most important works is *The Voice of Africa: Being an Account of the Travels of the German Inner-African Expedition in the Years 1910-1912* (1913).

FRONT ISLAMIQUE ARABE DE L'AZAOUAD (FIAA).

A Maure and Taureg rebel group headed by Zahabi Ould Sidi Mohammed which was invited by President Touré to join the Comité de Transition Pour Le Salut du Peuple in April 1991. Mohammed, the group's leader, led the Fronts Unifiés Pour la Défense de l'Azaouad delegation in negotiations with the Touré government at Mopti, on December 16-18, 1991. During 1994 and 1995 the FIAA continued military operations in the north. See TUAREG REVOLT OF 1990-1992.

**FRONT POPULAIRE DE LIBERATION DE L'AZAOUAD (FPLA).**

A militant Maure-Tuareg rebel group, based in Mauritania, that carried out military strikes in the north of Mali in April-May 1991 following the March 26 coup d'etat. The leader of this group was Rhissa Sidi Mohammed, who refused to sign the National Pact. He later lent his support to it. The FPLA was a splinter group that broke from the Mouvement Populaire de l'Azaouad. *See* TUAREG REVOLT OF 1990-1992.

**FRONT POUR LA LIBERATION DE L'AZAOUAD (FLA).**

The Tuareg umbrella organization which was first formed in December 13, 1991, at el-Meniaa, Algeria, under the name Front Unifié Pour la Defense de l'Azaouad (FUDA). It later changed its name to Mouvements et Fronts Unifiés de L'Azaouad (MFUA) and finally adopted its present name in September 1992 at a congress in Timbuctoo. However, it often refers to itself as MFUA. The FLA became the principal negotiating organization between the Tuareg and the government. In April 1994, it and the government were unable to agree on the numbers of Tuareg to be integrated into army patrols in the north.

**FRONT SAUVEGARDE DE LA DEMOCRATIE (FSD).**

A front formed on May 11, 1992, by 13 opposition parties to ADEMA. It was headed by Tieoulé Mamadou Konaté of the US-RDA and Almany Sylla of the Rassemblement Pour La Démocratie et Le Progrés (RDP). *See* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**FRONT UNIFIE POUR LA DEFENSE DE L'AZAOUAD (FUDA).**

An umbrella group incorporating the principal Tuareg rebel groups, formed at el-Meniaa, Algeria, on December 13, 1991. It played a major role in bringing a negotiated settlement to the Tuareg revolt. The group changed its name to Mouvements et Fronts Unifiés de

l'Azaouad (MFUA) and then in September 1992 adopted the name Front Pour La Libération de l'Azaouad at the Timbuctoo congress. However, it has often referred to itself by its previous names. *See* TAOUARDEI DECLARATION; TUAREG REVOLT OF 19901992.

FULA. *See* PEUL.

FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF 1968.

A law promulgated on December 6, 1968, by the Military Committee of National Liberation (CMLN). The law replaced the 1960 constitution. It interpreted the powers of the CMLN and its composition, defined the new government, and

stated which provisions of the 1960 constitution were still in effect. Mali was governed under this law until 1974, when a new constitution was approved.

#### FUND FOR AID AND COOPERATION (FAC).

A French agency created in 1959 through which bilateral aid is given to foreign countries. The agency replaced FIDES (Fonds d'Investissement Pour le Développement Economique et Social, which was in existence from 1946 through 1959). FAC has provided Mali with both funds and technical personnel, particularly school teachers and materials. In Mali, FAC is popularly known as "la Cooperation."

#### G

##### GAJAGA.

A small kingdom, also known as Galam, located along the upper Senegal River near the confluence of the Falémé. It was situated in the current-day *cercles* of Kayes and adjacent to Senegal. Written documentation of this kingdom is scarce. It was founded between the eighth and fourteenth centuries by Soninke people from the Ghana empire. The founding ruler is said to have been Alikassa Sempre, a name that was later changed to Bakili. This family ruled Gajaga until 1833. Gajaga passed through cycles of independence, which contrasted with its being a vassal state of Ghana, Mali, Tekrour, Diara, and Khasso. On the death of Mari Kassa in 1833, the kingdom was broken up into four separate and independent provinces, Gaye, west of the Falémé in present-day Senegal, Kamera, Giudimaka, and Diomboko in the east of what is now Mali.

Gajaga's importance was primarily commercial. It was situated along the upper navigable reaches of the Senegal and encompassed overland trade routes that connected the Senegal with kingdoms and empires of

the interior. Early on, Gajaga played an important role in the Bambouk gold trade, but by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it had become a leading slave market. Gajaga's slave trading created social instability among its neighbors and even within its own borders. The kingdom peaked in the seventeenth century. In 1885, it was conquered by a Soninké cleric, Mamadou Lamine Dramé.

GALAM. *See* GAJAGA.

GALLIENI, MARSHALL JOSEPH SIMON (1849-1916).

French soldier and colonial administrator. Gallieni graduated from Saint Cyr in 1870 as a second lieutenant; the Germans captured him in Sedan during the Franco-Prussian War. Released in 1871, he was assigned in 1872 to Reunion, where he remained until he was transferred to the

*tirailleurs sénégalais* in 1875. In 1876, he arrived in Dakar as a lieutenant. In April 1878, he was promoted to captain and awakened the interest of Louis Brière de l'Isle, a governor who was carrying on the expansionist plans of former governor Louis Faidherbe.

Brière de l'Isle's plans called for control of trade between Senegal and the Niger and the construction of a railway (this meant the acquisition of territory controlled by Amadou Tall, the Tukulor ruler). Gallieni was appointed political director of Senegal in January 1879. The following August, he was sent on a topographical and political mission to upper Senegal where French control ended at Medine in what is now the Kayes *région* of Mali. Gallieni's mission was to establish good relations with those local chiefs who opposed the Tukulor. He was also assigned to set up a post at Bafoulabé, the point where the Senegal River is formed by the Bafing and the Bakoy. Gallieni and many other Frenchmen firmly believed that control of Tukulor domains by France was necessary to prevent British political and economic infiltration into the western Sudan. Besides survey work and treaty signing, Gallieni's mission included his surveying the possible railway route to the Niger. A plan was placed before the French Chamber of Deputies by Admiral Jean Jaureguiberry minister of the navy and former governor of Senegala week before Gallieni's mission left Saint-Louis. On April 25, 1880, Gallieni signed a treaty with Tokontan Keita, the strongman of Kita. The treaty gave the French many trade and commercial concessions and placed Kita under French protection. The sword given to Tokontan Keita on that occasion is still in the possession of his descendants in Kita.

Via Bambara country, Gallieni then moved on to Ségou, the Tukulor capital. At Dio, he and his expedition were attacked by the Bambara and suffered serious losses. Despite this setback, Gallieni continued on to Bamako and then to Ségou. Amadou did not allow Gallieni into

Ségou. He kept Gallieni a few miles away, at Nango, under virtual house arrest. This was not unexpected; the French were building forts on Amadou's western frontier and signing treaties with his enemies. Beginning in June 1880 and lasting until March 1881, Gallieni and his men remained at Nango. In late October 1880, Amadou began treaty negotiations with Gallieni through his court officer, Seydou Djeylia. In November, the Treaty of Nango was signed.

The Tukulor acquired much-needed arms; the French got a protectorate that Gallieni believed would forestall British designs on the western Sudan. The treaty was never ratified by the French government; the French were concerned about the promise of arms that could be used, not only against Amadou's enemies but also against France. Amadou later repudiated the treaty; he said his Arabic version made no mention of a protectorate and other provisions. Significant dis-



crepancies between the French and Arabic texts, plus discrepancies in the numerous French versions written by Gallieni, made the treaty useless. Despite the treaty signing, Amadou did not let Gallieni go. During this time, Lt. Col. Borgnis-Desbordes, the commandant-supérieure of the Upper Senegal who had previously served in the artillery in Indochina, retaliated against the Bambara for the attack on Gallieni at Dio. He then began construction of a fort at Kita. These actions openly provoked Amadou, but Amadou had no desire for conflict with the French, and so, on March 21, 1881, he let Gallieni and his men go. Gallieni was promoted to major, after which he returned to France for two years. There, he married, and next he was assigned to Martinique for three years. While he was in Martinique, he wrote his book *Voyage au Soudan Français*.

During the time Gallieni was away from the Sudan, Desbordes conquered Bamako and built more forts, ever expanding French control eastward. This movement brought the French into conflict with other powerful Moslem leaders. Desbordes fought Samory in 1882, and the French had continuous battles with him until his capture in 1898. The other leader who resisted the French was Mamadou Lamine Dramé. Gallieni returned to France; in 1886 he was promoted to Lt. Col. Faidherbe, Brière de l'Isle, and Desbordes, all now in France in various capacities, persuaded Jean de La Portet the under-secretary of state for the colonies to appoint Gallieni commandant of the French Sudan. Gallieni arrived in Dakar in October 1886, negotiating whenever possible; where negotiation was not possible, he used force to advance France's cause. Almost at once, he found himself in military conflict with Mamadou Lamine (who was defeated after two dry-season campaigns in 1887). Gallieni sent Captain Peroz to negotiate with Samory and concluded the Treaty of Bissandougou in March-April 1887. In May 1887, he reached a new agreement with

Amadou and signed the Treaty of Gouri.

This treaty placed Tukulor domains under French protection and allowed French traders to trade up and down the Niger. Gallieni, who did not trust the Tukulor, viewed these treaties as temporary expedients to forestall British penetration; he did not see them as limiting his actions in the future. For their part, Samory and Amadou viewed the treaties as temporary expedients.

Gallieni's long-term imprint on the Sudan evolved from his skills as an administrator. He divided the territory into six *cercles*, created *écoles des ôtages*, which he viewed as a means of spreading French influence and civilization; he also set up *villages de liberté* (freedom villages) for ex-slaves and other displaced Africans unwilling to return to their former homes. Another Gallieni achievement was the implementation of his policy of *tache d'huile* (oil spot), in which a center of

control was expanded by using the powers of local chiefs. The *cercles* were also centers from which French influence spread. Gallieni was a firm believer in association. The *écoles des ôtages*, freedom villages, and *cercles* all became loci for French influence and control.

In June-November 1887, Gallieni retired to France for a rest. Then, back in West Africa, he launched another military campaign against Mamadou Lamine. With Mamadou Lamine out of the way, Gallieni solidified French control of part of what is now Guinea; he also built a fort at Siguri. To checkmate feared British expansion, he sent several missions into what is now Guinea, and he launched a second gunboat on the Niger. In 1888, Gallieni returned to France, then he served for four years in Indochina (1892-1896), and twice in Madagascar (1896-1899 and 1900-1905), where he made an indelible mark. After his West African experience, Gallieni, an ardent expansionist, came to believe that the railway to the Niger was of little value. He also favored abandoning the expensive forts and replacing them with new ones made of native materials that would serve as centers of influence. He also advanced his "policy of races," proposing that future penetration be carried out by indigenous peoples. Gallieni puts forth these views in his book *Deux Campagnes au Soudan Français*, 1886-1888. In short, Gallieni had come to realize the limited economic value of the lands he had once so coveted for France. He advocated reducing military presence when possible and replacing European administrators with Africans trained in French schools. This favoring of civilian rule was diametrically opposed to the policy of his successor, Louis Archinard. Gallieni expressed his views in a report of a departmental commission convened by Eugene Etienne, under-secretary of state for the colonies. This report, which was issued in January 1890, and which was to provide a blueprint for future French policy in West Africa, primarily reflected Gallieni's views. Few of his

recommendations were carried out, however. During World War I, Gallieni became military governor of Paris and is remembered as the hero of the Marne. He worked closely with Marshall Joffre, who in his earlier years had also served in the western Sudan. On March 17, 1916, Gallieni died from postoperative hemorrhaging following two prostate operations.

#### GANGARAN.

The region in western Mali that lies between the Bakoy and Bafing rivers. Most of Gangaran was located within the modern *cercle* of Bafoulabé. The area was a vassal state of the Mali empire. Later it fell under Tekrou, and then under the Bambara kingdom of Kaarta. In the nineteenth century, El Hadj Omar, and then Samory, invaded the Gangaran. Today the area is a region of subsistence agriculture. The Manantali dam and hydroelectric plant are on the Bafing River, the western boundary of the Gangaran.

GAO.

(1) A *région*, much of it desert, that once encompassed two-thirds of the total area of Mali. In 1977, the northwestern part of Gao was separated and called the *région* of Timbuctoo. In May 1991, the *cercle* of Kidal was detached as an autonomous region. There were nine administrative *cercles* in the original Gao region: Gao, Ansongo, Ménaka, Kidal, Bourem, Timbuctoo, Diré, Gourma-Rharous, and Goundam. Now only four remain: Gao, Ansongo, Ménaka, and Bourem.

The total surface area of the Gao (*région*) today is 170,566 square kilometers. It is a sparsely inhabited region, most of whose 320,000 inhabitants live along the banks of the Niger River. The population is predominantly Songhay, Tuareg, Maure, and Peul. The Songhay are sedentary agriculturists who farm the banks of the Niger. The Tuareg are camel and cattle nomads, and the Peul herd cattle, goats, and sheep. Prior to the 1972 drought, there were one million herd of cattle in Gao, not to mention two million goats and sheep. The drought caused a 50% loss. In Mali, the Gao *région* was the area primarily hit by the drought. In 1974, there were 60,000 refugees living in camps set up by the government. But by 1975, when the drought ended, most of the refugees had resumed their normal life pattern. The Gao and the Timbuctoo *régions* were the ones most affected by the drought of 1984-85. The capital of the *région* is the town of Gao that also serves as the *chef-lieu* of the *cercle* of the same name. See SONGHAY EMPIRE; DROUGHT.

(2) A town of 35,000, the capital of the *région* and *chef-lieu* of the *cercle*. The town was established around 650 A.D. and became the capital of the Songhay empire, which was conquered by the Moroccans in 1591. Thereafter, the town went into decline. The first Askia emperor, Mohammed, was interred in a monumental mud brick

tomb, which is still standing. Known as the Tomb of the Askias, it is built in the shape of a truncated pyramid. The town was visited by Mungo Park and then by Heinrich Barth, who wrote the first detailed modern description of Gao. The French took the town in 1898. Today, Gao is a commercial center and the terminus for large river steamers coming from Mopti and Koulikoro. It is also a terminus for the vehicles going and coming across the Sahara from Algeria and over the paved road from Mopti in the west.

GHALI, IYAD AG.

Tuareg leader who helped establish the Mouvement Populaire de l'Azaouad. As a young military leader, he led a daring attack on the Menaka prison on June 29, 1990, to free fellow Tuareg from Niger. He played an important role in the negotiations that took place during 1991 and 1992 and which culminated in the National Pact of April 12, 1992. *See* TUAREG REVOLT OF 1990-1992.

## GHANA.

An ancient empire that may have arisen as early as the fourth century, known locally as Wagadu and Aoukar to the Arabs. There is much speculation and little firm evidence about the early history of Wagadu. The earliest known mention of it was written in 773-774 by Arab geographer El Fazari, who referred to Ghana as "the land of gold." However, Ghana had probably been in existence for some time before then. Its rise to power was determined by its role as the entrepôt for gold from the south and salt and North African merchandise from the north. The gold on which Ghana's wealth and power was dependent first came from the Bambouk and later from Bouré. Its capital, also called Ghana, is generally thought by scholars to have been at Kumbi Saleh in what is now southern Mauritania. The first extensive description of Ghana was provided by the Spanish Moslem geographer El Bakri, who gathered his information from travelers who had been there. At that time, Ghana controlled the trans-Saharan caravan route some 220 miles north of its capital to the town of Audoghost. Its control in the south seems to have extended to the upper Senegal River in the west and the upper Niger River in the east.

It is generally believed that Ghana reached its zenith in the mid-eleventh century. Its decline coincided with the emergence of the militant Almoravids members of a puritanical Islamic reform movement. Led by Abu Bakr ibn Umar in the southern Sahara, they conquered Audoghost in 1054. Audoghost was at the time under the control of Ghana, as was the trade route that stretched for some 200 miles between it and Ghana's capital. The Almoravids eventually came to exercise control over Ghana and its trade to the north. In addition, the Almoravids brought down into the southern Sahara, which then must have been less arid than today, huge flocks which rapidly caused disastrous environmental degradation of a marginal

agricultural region on which Ghana depended. These forces and others could have, without an actual military invasion, caused Ghana's decline.

Some western scholars have long held that the Almoravids waged a continuous war against Ghana and seized its capital in 1076.

According to this view, Almoravid control of Ghana only lasted for around 20 years but resulted in the conversion of the population to Islam. The Ghana capital was then occupied in 1203 by Sosso, a successor state. In 1240, Soundiata Keita, the emperor of Mali, destroyed the city and incorporated the remnants of Ghana into his empire.

Historical documentation of Ghana's conquest by the Almoravids is largely based on the writings of Al-Zuhari, who died between 1154 and 1161, and Ibn Khaldun, who recorded it 300 years later. Conrad and Fisher, two highly respected contemporary oral historians, have challenged the long-held view of an Almoravid military conquest of



Ghana. They muster a wealth of data to support their historical analyses, including the writings of a number of North African and Spanish Arab writers, compiled over several centuries, and oral traditions. *See* ALMORAVIDS; GOLD TRADE; WAGADU.

#### GIMBALA.

Also known as Jimbala. A small traditional area lying between the two main branches of the Niger River after it exits from Lake Debo. These branches, the Issa Ber and the Bara Issa, later join below Timbuctoo. The population of Gimbala is Peul. It is an area renowned for the quality of its wool blankets.

#### GOLD TRADE.

The gold fields of the Bambouk and Bouré were mined for many centuries. In the eleventh century, el Bekri provided a vivid description of the gold trade between Ghana and North Africa. At its source, the trade was conducted through "dumb barter." Middlemen traders would beat drums, place piles of salt and trade goods on the ground, and retire. The miners would emerge and place piles of gold dust next to the traders' piles, remove the salt and trade goods, and retire. The traders would then take the gold and leave. This "dumb barter" was known to traders in Sijilmasa in the tenth century.

However, it may have been a fiction created by middlemen to keep outsiders from having direct contact with the miners. Much of the gold was mined in shallow pits, as it still is today in the *cercle* of Keniéba.

The salt of the Taghaza was the principal item of exchange for many centuries. Gold was brought up through Kumbi, the capital of Ghana, and thence across the Sahara to North Africa. After the fall of the Ghana empire, gold was taken eastward to Djenné, Gao, and Timbuctoo. Along with civet, ivory, and slaves, it eventually went out

of Timbuctoo and across the Sahara to North Africa. This trading pattern prevailed during the Mali empire and the Songhay empire. After the Moroccan Invasion of 1591, the trade continued, but by the eighteenth century was greatly reduced. The establishment of European trading posts on the West African coast and the availability of European salt diverted the gold trade from its traditional trans-Saharan route southward. The abolition of slavery in Europe and the Americas also dealt a blow to the trans-Saharan trade routes because slaves had been used by the Tuareg to maintain the oases and ksours. Finally, the mines of Bouré and Bambouk produced progressively smaller quantities of gold. Mining seemed to have shifted in the eleventh and twelfth centuries from Bambouk to Bouré. Yet, today in these areas, gold is still mined in shallow pits by both men and women. Most of this activity is clandestine, since the Malian government, which has engaged the Russians since 1960 to rework the old gold deposits of Bambouk (Keniéba) and Bouré, officially forbids individuals from mining gold.

Russian gold-mining activities have been treated secretly, but it is believed that the yields of the old mines are quite poor.

Today, individual Malian miners either clandestinely sell their gold to Malian traders or, like the traders, smuggle it themselves out of the country. Trader-pilgrims carry the gold to Mecca on charter flights. Many such flights are filled not with first-time pilgrims making the Hadj to Mecca but by seasoned Malian traders carrying Malian gold. In Mecca, the gold is traded for Western goods such as transistor radios and wristwatches. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, when this writer was traveling in the Bambouk, serious cereal shortages occurred regularly in the area because so many of the peasant farmers were mining for gold instead of planting crops. While individual profits are small by Western standards, they are sizable in a country where the average per capita annual income is around \$200. *See* BAMBOUK; BOURE; WANGARA; MITHQAL.

GOLOGO, MOHAMED EL BACHIR (b. 1924).

Physician, politician, cabinet minister, and poet. He was born near Koulikoro and graduated from the Ecole Terrasson de Fougères (Lycée Askia Mohammed) in 1941. He studied at the Ecole William Ponty in Dakar and received his medical degree from the medical school there in 1948. From 1948 to 1953, he served as a physician in many localities in Mali, including Sikasso, Douentza, Bamako, and Gourma-Rharous. In 1953, he went to work for the Office du Niger as a physician but also became active in politically organizing the laborers for the Union Soudanaise-RDA. He was named chief of cabinet of the Sudanese Ministry of Public Health in 1957. In 1958, he was named assistant director of the information service, then commissioner of information in 1959, and secretary of state for information and tourism in 1961. In 1964, he was named minister of information and tourism, a position held until the coup d'etat of 1968.

A member of the National Political Bureau of the Union Soudanaise-RDA and publication director of *L'Essor* from 1959 to 1968, he was also the president of the National Union of Journalists of Mali. As part of the radical Marxist wing of Modibo Keita's government, he expressed strong support for the Communist bloc. On November 19, 1968, he was arrested by the military committee after being turned out of the Soviet Embassy where he had sought refuge. Released from detention in 1971, he was appointed régional director of public health of the Bamako *région* in 1972, after taking a medical refresher course in Bamako. In October 1979, he was sentenced to four years in prison for distributing leaflets critical of the government. Held in prison at Nioro du Sahel, he was allowed to return to Bamako for treatment of an eye ailment; he remained in Bamako for almost a year. In 1991, following the coup

d'etat, he and others resuscitated the Union Soudanaise-RDA, which presented candidates in the 1992 elections. Gologo is an accomplished poet.

#### GOUNDAM.

A large *cercle* of the Timbuctoo *région* bordering on Mauritania. The *cercle* once was part of the Gao *région*. The population of 20,000 consists of Tuareg and Maure nomads, Songhay farmers, and some Bozo fishermen. It is divided into eight *arrondissements*.

Goundam was a thriving center during the time of the Songhay empire. It fell to the Moroccans in 1591, and later was taken by the Peul and Tuareg. When the French captured Goundam in 1894, the town was under the control of the Tuareg. Some of the refugees of the 1970-1974 drought have been settled as farmers along the shores of Lake Faguibine to the north of the town of Goudam. See BONNIER.

#### GOURMA.

That area which lies to the right of the Niger in the area of the Niger Bend. It covers the modern *cercles* of Gourma-Rharous and part of Ansongo, Gao, and Bourém. Literally, Gourma means "place of the well."

#### GOURMA-RHAROUS.

A *cercle* of the Timbuctoo *région* encompassing much of the area in the northern part of the bend of the Niger. Until 1977, it was part of the Gao *région*. Its 130,000 inhabitants are primarily Tuareg and Maure nomads and Songhay farmers. The *cercle* is primarily dry sahel suitable for grazing goats, sheep, and camels. Some cattle are also raised. The *chef-lieu* is Gourma-Rharous, which has a population of 2,000.

Gourma-Rharous is situated on the right bank of the Niger and has

seven *arrondissements*. Gossi, located in the center of the Gourma, is a water hole used by the Tuareg nomads. In 1976, refugees were settled at Gossi so they could farm the land around the seasonal lake.

#### GOVERNMENT OF MALI.

The present government of Mali is the second democratically elected one following independence. It functions under a constitution adopted by referendum in 1992. Alpha Oumar Konaré, the president, was elected for a five-year term on April 26, 1992. His political party, the Alliance Pour la Démocratie au Mali, originally started as a prodemocracy group in 1990 and holds 76 of 116 seats in the National Assembly. Deputies are elected for five-year terms (13 additional seats represent Malians living abroad). A prime minister heads the government in which there are 16 ministries. Younoussi Touré was appointed prime minister by President Konaré in June 1992. However, his government fell in April 1993 because of

continued student protests. On April 13, 1993, President Konaré appointed Abdoulaye Sékou Sow as prime minister, who then formed a coalition government with the Congrès National d'Initiative Démocratique (CNID). His government fell on February 2, 1994, under pressure from the radical wing of ADEMA. The then minister of foreign affairs, Boubacar Keita, was named prime minister. CNID initially withdrew from this government. Under the 1992 constitution, the prime minister nominates cabinet appointments; the president, however, must give final approval.

#### GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

The position of governor-general of French West Africa was established by decree in 1904. Under this decree, the governor-general, who resided in Dakar, had enormous powers over all the territories. He alone reported to Paris, and all of the lieutenant governors who headed individual colonies reported to him. The governor-general had almost complete control over taxation and the budgets of the individual territories.

On June 16, 1895, a government-general was created by decree for French West Africa (AOF). The government-general unified Senegal, Soudan, Guinea, and the Ivory Coast. The governor-general who resided in Saint-Louis, Senegal, was also governor of Senegal. The first governor-general was Chaudie. Two decrees, one in October 1902 and one in October 1904, gave the governor-general additional powers. The government was transferred to Dakar by the 1902 decree, and the 1904 decree gave the governor-general complete control over taxation and budgets in all of the territories of French West Africa. This system lasted until the reforms of 1946. At that time, parliamentary institutions and territorial autonomy were established. Some of the important governors-general included: Roume (1902), Van Vollenhoven (1917-1918), and Carde (1923-1930). Boisson, who

sided with the Vichy government, was replaced by Cournarie in 1943. See TABLE 6.

#### GOVERNOR, LIEUTENANT.

The French Sudan was governed from 1880 to 1892 by military officers called *commandants-supérieurs*. Then, in 1892, Louis Archinard who had previously served as a *commandant-supérieur* was named lieutenant governor. The first civilian lieutenant governor, Louis-Albert Grodet, was appointed the following year in 1893. Following him, there were 12 lieutenant governors until 1937, when Ferdinand Rougier was appointed governor.

William Ponty, one of the most outstanding lieutenant governors, first served in the position (1899-1904) as delegate; he held the lieutenant governor title from 1904 to 1908. Among the later lieutenant governors, Edmond-Jean Louveau (1946-1952) is the best remem-



bered, others having had relatively brief terms of office. Louveau made special efforts to beautify Bamako through the planting of trees; he also made improvements in municipal services. Louveau is remembered, too, for the sympathetic interest he took in the affairs of the Africans. Although lieutenant governors and governors of the French Sudan were responsible to the governor-general, they had significant autonomy in a number of matters. The holders of the office are often referred to as "governor" even though, technically, their title was lieutenant governor. During the colonial administration, the name of the territory underwent several name changes. *See FRENCH SUDAN; TABLE 7.*

GRAY, MAJOR WILLIAM, AND DOCHARD, STAFF SURGEON. British military officers and explorers who, between 1818 and 1821, made separate trips alone and together to Kaarta and Khasso from French posts along the Senegal River. Dochard managed to reach Bamako and Koulikoro but was unable to enter Ségou, where Da Monson was king. Gray was accompanied into Kaarta by Garan, Bodian Moriba's son, who later became king (1832-1844). Bodian Moriba, however, refused to see Gray or to let him go on to Ségou. Gray provides a vivid description of life in Kaarta and surrounding areas. He also gives particulars of the pillaging raids conducted by the Kaartans (particularly one of Garan's attacks against the people of Bondu), which he witnessed on his way to meet Gray and escort him into Kaarta. Garan headed a 1000-man cavalry. He had enslaved 107 prisoners and subjected them to unbelievably cruel treatment. Da Monson prohibited Gray and Dochard from coming to Ségou, giving as his excuse his war with Cheikou Amadou of Macina. Dochard was the first European to visit the Niger since Mungo Park entered the area. *See KAARTA KINGDOM; BODIAN MORIBA.*

GRIAULE, MARCEL (1898-1956).

Renowned French ethnologist known for his profound and detailed investigations of the complex ritual and elaborate symbolism of the Dogon people and of the cosmological ideas underlying this symbolism. His first field expedition took him to Ethiopia (1928-29). From 1931 to 1933, he organized and headed the Dakar-Djibouti mission, a mission of ethnographic reconnaissance which first brought him into contact with the peoples of the Niger Bend. From 1946 until his death, he revisited the Dogon annually, studying all aspects of their culture and social life. He was professor of ethnology at the University of Paris from 1942 to 1956. His most important published works are *Masques Dogons* (1938) and *Dieu d'eau* (1948). The latter is an account of Dogon cosmology in the form of recorded conversations with Ogotemmeli, a priest and elder. In 1987

a memorial volume was published in honor of Griaule. Titled *Ethnologiques. Hommage à Marcel Griaule*, it was edited by Solange de Ganay, Annie and Jean-Paul Lebeuf, and Dominique Zahan.

GRIOT.

See DYELI.

GUIDIMAKA.

A province of the old kingdom of Gajaga, which was located on the right bank of the Senegal River in what is now western Mali and eastern Senegal. See GAJAGA.

GUM ARABIC.

A resin found in several species of acacia trees of the mimosa family. In Mali, *Acacia senegal* (found in the *cercles* of Yelimané, Nioro, and Kayes) is the chief source. The gum is composed of calcium, magnesium, and potassium salts of Arabic acid. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the gum trade was controlled in the interior by the Maures. It assumed great importance once the slave trade was outlawed in the early nineteenth century. Its primary use in Europe was for fixing textile dyes and for starching clothes. In Mali, today, it is still widely used for starching. Small quantities are used today by the pharmaceutical industry for stabilizing some purified protein derivative (PPD) preparations. These are used in skin testing for tuberculosis. Chemical agents have largely supplanted gum arabic in industrial textile manufacturing.

H

HABE.

See DOGON.

HABITANT.

A term used in the precolonial era for permanent residents of coastal

trading posts. The term covered *métis* (people of mixed European and African heritage), wealthy Africans, or Africanized Europeans. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, habitants exerted enormous influence on French colonial policies and on France's political and commercial relationships with states in the interior. Their influence gradually declined as France's colonial empire in West Africa grew.

HACQUARD, MONSEIGNEUR (1860-1901).

French missionary. In 1895, he traveled from France to Timbuctoo to establish the first Catholic mission. Father Auguste Dupuis (Dupuis Yakouba) was a member of his party. In 1896, Monseigneur Hacquard joined the expedition of Hourst and sailed down the Niger from Timbuctoo to the sea. He traveled back to Ségou overland from the coast and became head of the Ségou Catholic Mission and bishop of the Sahara.

In 1901, Hacquard accidentally drowned while swimming in the Niger at Ségou.

HAIDARA, MAHAMANE ALASSANE (1910-1982).

Politician and school teacher. Haidara was born in Timbuctoo and graduated from the Ecole William Ponty. From 1942 to 1959, he served as a senator of France. In both 1952 and 1957, he served as a territorial counselor of the Sudan. From March 31, 1957, until November 24, 1958, he was a deputy to the provisional legislative assembly of the Sudanese Republic and then a deputy to the National Assembly of Mali, a position he held until the assembly was dissolved on January 16, 1968.

The National Assembly had voted unanimously to dissolve itself "in response to the wishes of the people." It authorized President Keita to appoint persons to perform the deputies' functions until new elections could be held. The National Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CNDR), headed by Modibo Keita, appointed a legislative delegation headed by Haidara, who served in this position until his arrest on November 19, 1968. A member of the National Political Bureau of the US-RDA, he was a key member of Modibo Keita's government and possessed a strong geographic constituency in the *région* of Gao, where his photograph was displayed more conspicuously than that of President Keita. He was held in detention until June 21, 1975, and then lived in retirement until his death in 1982.

HAMADOU-AMINA I.

Ardo of Macina from 1583-1603. He conducted a prolonged war of resistance against the Moroccan invasion. See PEUL KINGDOM OF MACINA; TABLE 5.

HAMADOU-AMINA II.

Ardo of Macina from 1627-1663. A grandson of Hamadou-Amina I, he successfully revolted against the Moroccans. Despite their launching of several military expeditions, the Moroccans never were able to fully subjugate him. See PEUL KINGDOM OF MACINA; TABLE 5.

HAMALLAH (b. MOHAMMED AL TISHITI, SHAYKH, 1883-1943).

Leader of the Hamallists, who were also known as the Hamalliya. He was born in Nioro of a Peul mother and a Maure father who was a teacher. The Hamalliya is a West African Tijani sect whose members recite a prayer of the Tijani litany, *jawharat al-kamal*, 11 times instead of 12. Hamallah was and still is venerated. The sect began in Nioro du Sahel about 1900 when an Algerian Tijani *muqaddam* (leader of a Sufi order who authorizes the recitation of prayers), Sidi Mohammed bin Ahmed and known as Al-Akhdar, started preaching a

new version of the Tijani prayers. Sidi had been ousted both for this and for adopting, in Algeria, a different rosary.

Hamallah became one of Sidi's followers and succeeded him as leader on the latter's death in 1909. The group became known as the "onze grains" (11 beads) because of their rosary and because of the number of times they recited the prayer. Within 10 years, Hamallah was being addressed as *shaykh*, a Sufi title indicating high spiritual attainment. Besides mystic and religious magnetism, Hamallah had political appeal among educated Africans who, through membership in the Hamalliya, were able to express their strong anti-French and anticolonial feelings. The Hamallists came into conflict with other Tijani Moslems over ritual issues that served as the rubric for expressing other areas of disagreement. In 1922 and 1923, violent incidents occurred in Nioro between the Hamallists and other Moslems. Although the French thought that Hamallah could have ordered his followers to refrain from violence, he refused to publicly condemn his followers for their violent behavior.

Whether he prompted them to it is a controversial matter. The French merely wanted Hamallah to cooperate with them; he refused to do that, remaining largely isolated in religious contemplation.

Complicating matters was the fact that other Tijani leaders in Nioro saw Hamallah and his growing following as a threat and sought to subvert his movement by any means, even by exaggerating his danger to the French. In addition, these leaders were not innocent in the violent confrontations that occurred with the Hamallists.

In 1925, Hamallah was exiled to Mederdaa, Mauritania, for 10 years. The French were prompted to do this not only because of the violence in Nioro but because of the spread of the Hamalliya to African teachers and civil servants; the French were then fearful of a

worldwide Islamic conspiracy.

With Hamallah in prison, his followers took a more militant stance not only against the French but also against the Tijani brotherhood that collaborated with the French and enjoyed their confidence. The most violent incident took place in Kaedi (Mauritania) where 30 people were killed when Hamallah's followers assaulted the office of the commandant of the *cercle*. Hamallah denounced this violence.

The French then moved him to the Ivory Coast where they thought his influence would be less pervasive. Not unexpectedly, he won the support of many noted Islamic leaders as well as the support of a number of Senegalese politicians, such as Lamine Guèye. Returning to Nioro in 1936, Hamallah did not preach in public, but his sermons to his followers included concepts that were alien to Tijani orthodoxy. In addition to the unorthodox recitation of the *jawharat al-kamal* 11



times instead of 12 and the use of a different rosary, these concepts included egalitarianism, mysticism, and faith.

These revolutionary practices were extremely threatening to the established hierarchy of Tijani clerics who saw themselves as keepers of El Hadj Omar's dogmas; the clerics were intolerant of departures from their own orthodoxy.

When Hamallah returned to Nioro, his movement was very much alive. A delegation consisting of the governor-general of French West Africa, the lieutenant governor of the French Sudan, and Seedu Nuuru Tall, a leading Senegalese cleric, visited him and asked that he not pray the abbreviated prayer in public. Hamallah agreed to comply with this request. Still, his following continued to grow, drawing to it many civil servants and educated Africans who saw in it a vehicle for protest against French colonialism. In 1943, a dispute erupted between a group of Hamallists (including three of Hamallah's sons and a group of Tenwajib Maure pastoralists who had allegedly been harassing the Hamallists for some time). Approximately 400 people, mostly women and children, were killed by the Hamallists. Hamallah, contrary to previous practice, publicly denounced the violence. Some 700 Hamallists were arrested and 33 sentenced to death by firing squad; Hamallah's three sons were included in this group. The rest were imprisoned at administrative posts around the colony. Governor-General Boisson deported Hamallah to Algeria and then to France where in 1943 he died after beginning a protest fast. His deportation had little effect on stemming the violence which was, in effect, more politically than religiously motivated. In 1941, Hamallists killed six Europeans in the main hotel in Bobo-Dioulasso (Upper Volta). Until 1951, other violent incidents occurred.

After 1946, the establishment of political parties provided Africans

with less violent means of expressing their anticolonial sentiments. Eventually, the Hamalliya became integrated, in a sense, with the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, the largest anticolonial political party in West Africa. Hamallah's imprisoned disciples made many converts in geographic areas distant from Nioro and Yelimané where the movement was strongest. Prominent followers of the Hamalliya included Amadou Hampaté Ba and Cerno Bokar of Bandiagara, a grandnephew of El Hadj Omar Tall.

Hamallah's remains were not brought back to Nioro during the colonial period; repeated requests by his followers of the Malian government to inter him at home have been denied. In the early 1970s, the Malian government rejected the application of an American graduate student, Lucy Quimby, to study the Hamalliya in Nioro. The Hamallists, on hearing of her application, taunted their

Tijani adversaries with the claim that President Nixon, who had sent men to the moon, was dispatching a special emissary to benefit from the wisdom of their shaykh!

Yacouba Sylla was one of Hamallah's disciples. He had played a key role in the violence of the 1930s, and after being disowned by Hamallah and declaring he had experienced a mystic vision, started his own separatist movement in the Kaedi area of Mauritania. This egalitarian movement was similar to the Hamalliya but required denunciation of worldly wealth. Not surprisingly, it attracted many marginal and poor people to its ranks, as well as a number of ex-slaves without worldly means.

Yakouba was deported to the Ivory Coast. There, he and his movement thrived. Like Hamallah and Amadou Bamba (founder of the Mouride sect in Senegal), he became a considerable economic force because of his power to control huge pools of manpower needed for crop production.

Since Mali's independence, the Hamalliya has had little appeal to younger Malians. But like all such movements it has the capacity of rebirth given the proper social, economic, and historical circumstances. *See ISLAM.*

HAMALLISTS.

*See* HAMALLAH b. MOHAMMED AL TISHITI, SHAYKH.

HAMDALLAYE.

A city founded in 1815 by ruler Cheikou Amadou Bari of Macina. Standing on the right bank of the Bani, not far from Sofara, its ruins can still be seen today. The city served as the capital of the Peul empire of Macina until 1862 when it was overrun by El Hadj Omar. Thereafter, it served as Macina province headquarters for the Tukolor

who, under El Hadj Omar's nephew, Tijani, built an earthen wall around it. Prior to Tukulor occupation, Hamdallaye had no protective wall. During the time of Tukulor domination, the Tukulor leader Tijani Tall moved his capital to Bandiagara, which is situated on the high plateau above the flood plains of the Bani and Niger Rivers. Hamdallaye was abandoned. Today the tombs of Cheikou Amadou and Amadou Cheikou are venerated, and significant numbers of pilgrims from Mali come to Hamdallaye annually. Archaeological digs were begun at the site in the 1980s.

HENRY, JOSEPH M. (1875-?).

Missionary priest and ethnographer. Henry was a member of the Order of Our Lady of Africa of Algiers, popularly known as the White Fathers. He arrived in the French Soudan (then known as the Haut Sénégal-Moyen Niger) in 1901 when he was 26 years old. He was successively posted to Dinguira in the

Kayes area, and then to Patyana and Banankourou in the Bambara country. It was in the latter area that he carried out pioneering field research focused on Bambara societal organization, customs, and religious beliefs. Although his writings were forged within the European values and attitudes of his time, they exhibit a general affection for and deep understanding of the Bambara. He spoke and understood *Bamana-ka*, the Bambara language, which facilitated his studies.

At the time that Henry served in the Soudan, Monsignor H. Bazin was the Apostolic Vicar of the colony. Bazin authored an important Bambara-French dictionary, which was published in 1906. However, dictionaries and grammars were seen by missionaries as necessary tools in the service of converting the population to Christianity. In the interests of the latter they were also encouraged to develop a general understanding of indigenous religious beliefs and specifically of the practice of circumcision since it ushered initiates into the world of Bambara spiritual beliefs. Most missionaries acquired a superficial knowledge of indigenous religious beliefs. Henry, however, went well beyond this level to a point where his studies gave importance and value to the very beliefs and customs his colleagues wanted to destroy.

Henry's vigorous pursuit of these studies and the highly independent personality that made him such an excellent ethnographer eventually came into conflict with Monsignor Bazin and with the community life led by the White Fathers. In 1908, after seven years in the Soudan, he returned to the White Fathers' headquarters in Algiers. He subsequently left the order and became a secular priest in southern France.

While still in the Soudan, Henry published two articles, one on the *Komo* secret society (1906) and one on the *Kworé* society and the

*Dassari* village protector spirits (1907). However, his most important work is *L'Ame d'un peuple africain: Les Bambara* (1910), a comprehensive monograph on Bambara society and their religious beliefs and customs. This volume has since been viewed as a pioneering classic.

A fuller study of Bambara religious beliefs and practices was not undertaken until the 1940's by students of Marcel Griaule, almost 40 years after Henry began his field research. During the intervening years Islam and Western values began to exert a strong influence on the Bambara. Thus Henry's observations are extremely valuable since they were made during early stages of the colonial period before these influences were significant. (The information for this entry was kindly provided by Paule Brasseur).

HOLLE, COMMANDANT PAUL.

A *métis* military officer who defended the French military outpost of Médine (Kayes) in 1857 against the forces of El Hadj Omar. Médine was under siege for three months

and two days. Faidherbe finally arrived with a relief expedition and drove off the Tukulor. *See* SAMBALA.

#### HOUGHTON, MAJOR.

British military officer and explorer who, with Magra, explored the Faleme River Valley in western Mali in 1791. The two men were among the first Europeans to visit this region of the ancient gold fields of the Bambouk.

#### HOURST, LT. M.

French military officer and explorer who in 1896 led an expedition down the Niger River from Timbuctoo to the sea in present-day Nigeria. Hourst signed a number of treaties with local chiefs and established French claims to eastern Mali and western Niger. Near Soy, his mission was menaced by the Tukulor, who fled there after being driven out of Ségou. *See* HACQUARD.

## I

#### IBN BATUTA, ABU-ABDALLAH MOHAMMED (1304-1378).

Moroccan traveler and geographer often called the "Marco Polo" of Islam. Ibn Batuta traveled to many parts of the world, including India, China, East Africa, the eastern Mediterranean and, finally, the western Sudan. He was sent across the Sahara by Abu Inan who, in Morocco, had usurped the throne from his father, Abu'l Hassan.

In 1352, Ibn Batuta began his two-year trip to the western Sudan, traveling along the well-known caravan route to Sijilmasa.

He passed through the salt mines at Taghaza and two months after leaving Sijilmasa reached Walata (now in Mauritania), then the northernmost point of the Mali empire. Ibn Batutu found it hard to come to terms with the fact that blacks, whom he had known in Morocco only as slaves, were the masters of this region. His account

of his initial encounter with blacks is patronizing. He was, in fact, so disgusted with what he saw that, before deciding against it, he thought of returning to Sijilmasa with a pilgrim caravan. The freedom afforded to women and the pattern of matrilineal descent also shocked him.

Ibn Batuta traveled on to the capital of Mali, Niani; he was accompanied by three men and a guide and took 24 days to reach his destination, an indication of how peaceful the countryside was at that time. (Ibn Batuta wrongly assumed the Niger to be the Nile.) In Niani, he met a number of Moroccan traders who made his stay comfortable. He was received by the Mali emperor, Souleyman (c. 1341-1360), and remained in Niani for eight months.

In late February 1353, he set out for Timbuctoo on camel back. There he saw the tomb of Es Saheli. He sailed down the Niger to Gao, en route obtaining a slave boy who was to remain with him for a num-



ber of years and who was with him when he dictated the account of his travels. After a month in Gao, which he described as one of the best towns in the region, he left with a caravan of Ghadames merchants who were heading for the copper-mining town of Takedda. In Takedda, Ibn Batuta was summoned back to Fez; he left Takedda with a caravan of 600 female slaves that was traveling through Air, Touat, and Sijilmasa.

In 1355, the sultan provided Ibn Batuta with a scribe so that he could dictate the account of his voyages around the world. The remarkably written account was virtually unknown to the western world until the early nineteenth century. Laboriously hand-written, this work is entitled, in Arabic, *Tuhfat al-nuzzarfi ghara'ib al-amsar wa- 'aja 'ib al asfar*. In Cairo, in the early nineteenth century, Buckhardt obtained three copies of an abridgement (in the period before printing, it was common for books to be abridged). He bequeathed these copies to Cambridge University, and in 1829, the Rev. Samuel Lee translated the abridgement into English. The material on the western Sudan in this abridgement is very scanty. The Lee translation was reissued in 1971 in the USA.

Défrémery and Sanguinetti translated a complete manuscript into French (1853-1858). The French translation was later translated into English by H.A.R. Gibb; the English version was published in 1962. Translations of portions of the Ibn Batuta manuscript have been published over the years. The Défrémery and Sanguinetti translation was reissued several times.

IBN HAOUKAL RAHMAN (10th century).

An Arab chronicler born in Baghdad. He wrote the *Book of Ways and Provinces*. For many years, because he described it briefly in his *Book of Ways and Provinces*, it was thought by scholars that he actually had

visited the ancient Ghana empire; today, scholars believe that his description was based on second-hand information. He did record in detail the Trans-Saharan network.

**IBN KHALDUN ABD ER RAHMAN (1332-1382).**

An Arab historian who pioneered the sociological approach to the study of history. Born in Tunis, he served in various courts in North Africa and Spain before settling in Cairo when he became the chief judge of the Malikite School of Islamic law. His historical works include descriptions of the development of Ghana, Sosso, and Mali based on earlier accounts that included the use of oral tradition. He himself never traveled to the western Sudan.

**IMAM.**

The leader of ritual prayers at a mosque. Also used to mean the leader of a Moslem community. These Moslem clerics often became

political leaders as well (for example, Samory Touré in the western Sudan). The French often used the term *marabout* for all categories of Moslem clerics, including *imams*. *Imams* and other Moslem clerics assumed considerable political importance in the immediate precolonial era in that they filled a void created by the French destruction of indigenous nobilities. The continued relevancy of Islam in Mali and the modern irrelevancy of precolonial states make Moslem clerics a powerful political force and the descendants of noble families an insignificant one. The political power of the *imams* and other clerics is still a force to be reckoned with.

#### INDIGENAT.

A group of laws existing during the colonial period in overseas French colonies (including the French Sudan) that were applied to the majority of the population known as *sujets*, individuals who were not citizens of France. *Sujets* were subject under the Indigenat to customary law interpreted by native tribunals administered by French-appointed chiefs and cadis. The French conveniently used the Indigenat for tax collection, forced labor, and military conscription, all very unpopular activities with local people. The justice given out under the Indigenat was often unjust and unusual; thus the system came to be intensely disliked and was abolished by the French Constituent Assembly through laws promulgated on December 22, 1945, and February 22, 1946. Thereafter, all peoples in the French Sudan became *citoyen* (citizens) of the French Union. Prior to that time, the only Africans in French West Africa who had the rights of citizens were the inhabitants of the four *communes*: Saint-Louis, Rufisque, Gorée, and Dakar. These citizen rights dated to the revolution of 1848 when the populations of Saint-Louis and Gorée obtained the status of communes and the rights of citizenship, which included the right to vote.

## INSTITUT D'OPHTHALMOLOGIE TROPICALE DE L'AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE (IOTA).

Established in 1953 in French West Africa for the purposes of treating eye diseases (especially trachoma and onchocerciasis), training paramedical personnel, and conducting research. The institute consists of a large three-story building and several smaller structures. It has trained large numbers of excellent paramedical professionals. At the present time, IOTA is an institute of the OCCGE.

## INSTITUT MARCHOUX.

An institute created in Bamako in 1931 for the purpose of conducting epidemiologic, clinical, and chemotherapeutic research on leprosy in French West Africa. Originally called the Institut Central de la Lepre en AOF and, beginning in 1946, the In-

stitut Marchoux, it includes a residential village for patients as well as inpatient and ambulatory care facilities. In 1970, a new village of Samanko, for patients with well-controlled leprosy, was established outside of Bamako. At present, the institute is a part of the OCCGE and is directed primarily by French military physicians.

## ISLAM.

Approximately 65% of Mali's population profess to be Moslems. However, elements of indigenous religions are often retained and syncretic practices are common. Islam was introduced into Mali in the eleventh century. It is the predominant religion among the Sarakolé, Maure, Tuareg, Songhay, Dioula, and Tukulor. The Bozo, Peul, and Somono are not totally Islamized, but large proportions of them profess to be Moslems. Animism is still prominent in the south and west of Mali among the Bamana, Malinké, Bobo, and Senufo. Islam in Mali is practiced according to the Malikite rite. Both the Tijaniya and Qadiriya *tariqas* (brotherhoods) are found in Mali. Although no precise statistics are available, a preponderance of one or the other varies with geographic area. The practical influence of these *tariqas* on adherents is modest. El Hadj Omar Tall was largely responsible for the spread of the Tijaniya, and it is said that this brotherhood has the most adherents in Mali. A splinter group, the Hamallists, was established by Hamallah Mohammad al-Tishiti (1883-1943).

Hamallah proselytized throughout the *cercles* of Nioro and Yelimané and in Mauritania and Senegal, winning many converts. This activity aroused the Tijaniya clerics and resulted in a series of violent civil disorders in Nioro in 1924 and again in 1940. Hamallah was exiled to France, where he died in 1943. Some of his leaders were banished to Ansongo and Dioila, where they made converts. The sect is prominent, however, only in Nioro and Yelimané.

A fundamentalist group, the Wahabi, are called *bras croisés* because

they pray with their arms crossed over their chests instead of at their sides. The Wahabiya began in eighteenth-century Arabia as an anti-Sufi movement. The movement was brought to Mali in the 1930s but gained numbers of adherents in the 1950s. In May 1957, there were serious religious riots in Bamako, the violence being directed against the Wahabi and their homes. Since many Wahabi were wealthy merchants, economic jealousies played a significant role in these attacks.

Islam continues to gain new converts among so-called animist populations. Many of the populations live within the confines of the old Mali Empire (Mali emperors were Moslem). But Islam was the court religion and not the religion of most of the people. For centuries, Djenné and Timbuctoo have been great centers of Islamic learning.

## J

JELI.

*See DYELI.*

JOFFRE, MARSHAL JOSEPH JACQUES (1852-1931).

Distinguished French military officer who served as a major in the French Sudan. Setting out from Ségou, he moved overland toward Timbuctoo along the left bank of the Niger, capturing the city in 1894 after the massacre of Bonnier and his column near Goundam. Joffre's military conquest of Timbuctoo brought the city under French control. Joffre left the Sudan shortly after his capture of Timbuctoo. He was commander in chief of the French armies (1915-1917). *See* BOITEAUX; BONNIER.

## K

KAARTA.

The name of a traditional area and a Bambara kingdom which existed from 1650 to 1854. The Kaarta lies to the north of the Baoulé River in the *cercles* of Nioro, Nara, and parts of northern Kita. The traditional area is much smaller than was the expanse of the Kaarta kingdom. *See* KAARTA KINGDOM.

KAARTA KINGDOM.

A Bambara kingdom established in the seventeenth century, encompassing the present-day cercles of Nioro, Nara, Banamba, Yelimané, and Kita. From its founding in about 1650, until 1854, the kingdom was ruled by the Massassi dynasty. Massa was the founder of the dynasty; he ruled from his capital at Sounsou from 1650 to 1710. Massa's son Benefali ruled from 1710 to 1745 and fought several wars with Biton Coulibaly, king of Ségou. The latter conquered the first Kaarta kingdom when Benefali's son Foulakoro

was king (1745-1754). In 1754, a chief, Sey Bamana Coulibaly, founded a second Kaarta kingdom. When he died in 1758 he was succeeded by his brother Doni Babo (1758-1761) an itinerant brigand. Doni Babo was succeeded by Sira Bo (1761-1780), who developed Kaarta into a true political state. Sira Bo conquered parts of Khasso, Bélé Dougou, and the Diawara in 1777. His successor, Dessé Koro (1788-1799), attacked Ségou but was defeated by Monson. Moussa Kourabo (1799-1808) conquered the Khassonké. He was succeeded by Teguin Koro (1808-1811) and Sakhaba (1811-1815). Bodian Moriba (1818-1832) is considered the greatest king of Kaarta, and under him Kaarta reached its apogee. Bodian Moriba set up a capital at Yelimané and then at Nioro. He was succeeded by Garan (1832-1844), who in turn was succeeded by Mamady Kandian (1844-1854), the last king, who was put to death by El Hadj Omar (the Tukulor con-



queror who took Nioro, the Kaarta capital, in 1854). The Kaarta kingdom never achieved the administrative and political cohesion of its sister kingdom, Ségou.

From a number of perspectives, the Kaarta kingdom stands in sharp contrast to the Ségou kingdom. It was not really until the early nineteenth century that Kaarta achieved the military strength and political influence already held by Ségou since the mid-eighteenth century.

Kaarta's lack of progress had much to do with its social and economic basis. Between 1600 and 1754, the Bambara of this area derived prosperity from pillaging and taking slaves from weaker neighbors. In 1753, they confronted Biton Coulibaly of Ségou, who nearly annihilated them. This military confrontation forced the Bambara to leave the Bélédougou and move westward into the land of the Diawara where they were welcomed as protectors. There, the Bambara set up a second Kaarta kingdom. Doni (Dessé) Babo (1758-1761) abandoned a sedentary existence and moved the pillaging Massassai Bambara around like nomads. This pattern ended under Sira Bo (1761-1780), who established a capital at Guemou, southwest of Nioro, and changed the Massassi relationship with the Soninké from one of protector and client to that of overlord and vassal.

During this time, the Diawara were allowed to settle in the northern part of Kaarta between the Massassi on the west and the Awlad Mbarak Arabs on the east. They paid the Massassi tribute, which was not onerous, and had to supply military help when asked. By 1790, the Kaarta Massassi felt strong enough to attack Ségou. Taking advantage of the civil war between Ngolo Diarra's sons, they burned Niamina to the ground. Monson Diarra retaliated four years later, destroying Guemou and recapturing all of the territory conquered by Sira Bo

(1761-1780).

Kaarta was practically destroyed. The Diawara shifted their allegiance to the Awlad Mbarak Arabs. Bodian Moriba (1818-1832) was able to reconstitute much of Kaarta's strength, but to the west in the Khasso. He and Da Monson of Ségou made peace and brought to an end a war of almost 30 years' duration. Had it not been for the arrival of El Hadj Omar in 1854, it is probable that Kaarta would have continued to develop into an even more powerful state.

#### KABARA.

The port of Timbuctoo, situated on the Niger River some seven kilometers from the city. Goods and passengers arriving on the river must disembark there, then be transported, overland on a paved road, to Timbuctoo.

#### KADIOLO.

A small *cercle* in southeastern Mali whose 115,000 inhabitants are primarily engaged in subsistence agriculture. The *cercle* is

subdivided into four *arrondissements*. Its population comprises, primarily, Senufo and Bambara.

#### KAFA DIOUGA.

Succeeded Kaniouba-Niouma as king of Ségou in 1763. His name Diouga means "ugly" or "mean." He was chief of the conspiracy that killed Dikoro Coulibaly and, at the time of his accession to power, was the oldest *ton djon* leader. After Diouga's death in 1766, rivals contested the succession, the protest leading to a period of anarchy. Finally, N'Golo Diarra triumphed and became *fama*. See DIKORO COULIBALY; KANIOUBA NIOUMA; N'GOLO DIARRA; TON DJON.

#### KANGABA.

A *cercle* of the *région* of Koulikoro on the Upper Niger bordering on Guinea. Its population of 60,000 people are made up primarily of Bambara and Malinké. The *chef-lieu* is the town of Kangaba where the Kamablothe sacred house of the Mandingis located. It is solemnly refurbished every seven years. Tobacco is grown as an important cash crop in Kangaba.

#### KANIAGA.

See SOSO.

#### KANIOUBA-NIOUMA.

King of Ségou from c. 1760 to c. 1763. His name Niouma means "handsome," "good." He is said to have been of Peul origins from the Bari clan. He participated in the plot against Dikoro Coulibaly and was a rival of Ton Massa, his predecessor as *fama* of Ségou. As head of the Bambara cavalry force, his chief rivals were Ton Massa's son Dason (whom he immediately imprisoned) and Kafa Diouga (who eventually replaced him). Dason escaped to N'goi where his father had lived. Pursued by Kaniouba-Niouma, who killed 1,000 people and

took 6,000 as slaves, Dason fled down into the Baninko. Kaniouba next turned on Kafa Diouga and removed from him his army of 3,000 men. Shortly thereafter, Kaniouba suffered a stroke which resulted in a left-sided paralysis. Although Kaniouba died a natural death, oral tradition attributed it to sorcery on the part of Kafa Diouga. See SEGOU KINGDOM; TON MASSA; TON DJON.

#### KANKAN MOUSSA.

Famous emperor of Mali, also known as Mansa Moussa, who ruled from 1307 to 1337. The most illustrious of the Mali emperors after Soundiata, Kankan Moussa made a pilgrimage to Mecca in the 17th year of his reign (1324-1325). Traveling across the Sahara via Cairo, he spent so much gold and distributed so many gifts of gold that the price of gold in Cairo remained depressed for a long period of time. In Mecca, Kankan Moussa met Abou-Ishaq Ibrahim

Es Saheli, a poet born in Grenada. Es Saheli, who had a talent for architecture, returned to Mali with Kankan Moussa.

While still traversing the Sahara, Kankan Moussa learned of the conquest of Gao by one of his generals, Saga Mandia. He went to Gao to receive the submission of the king, Za Yassibou. While there, Es Saheli designed and built a new mosque which, according to Es Sadi, remained in existence until the seventeenth century. Mansa Moussa went on to Timbuctoo where Es Saheli, using dried mud bricks as he had in Gao, designed and built the mosque at Dyringerey Ber. Kankan Moussa then returned to Mali. Under him, the Mali empire reached its greatest limits, stretching to the coastal rain forests. Kankan Moussa was a devout Moslem and wise ruler; he was succeeded by his son Magha I. See MALI EMPIRE; ES SAHELI.

KATI.

(1) A town of 20,000 situated at the base of the Manding hills, 13 kilometers from Bamako. Kati was originally built as a military headquarters for the French army. The Malian army has its headquarters in Kati and the Armed Forces College is located there. Until 1977, it was the *chef-lieu* of the *arrondissement* of Kati, which was part of the Bamako cercle. After 1977, it became *chef-lieu* of a new *cercle* of the same name that incorporates much of the former Bamako cercle.

(2) A *cercle* of 300,000 people that is divided into seven *arrondissements*. Most of the inhabitants are Bambara farmers. Kati is part of the *région* of Koulikoro.

(3) An *arrondissement* of 50,000, part of the Kati cercle.

KATI, MOHAMMAD (1468-1593?).

A Soninké scholar who was a Moslem judge in Timbuctoo during the

reign of Askia Mohammed and who is said to have accompanied the Askia on his pilgrimage to Mecca. For many years, it had been thought that Kati's notes constituted the basis for the *Tarikh el Fettach*, an important chronicle of the history of the western Sudan up to 1599, which gives many details about Songhay. It had also been thought that Kati's sons continued the book and that the work was completed by Kati's grandson, Ibn el Moktar, about 1665. A number of modern scholars have understandably challenged not only the date of Kati's death (he would have been 125 years old) but also his actual contribution to the *Tarikh es Sudan*. Some think that the actual author of this *Tarikh* was a member of the Aqit family of Timbuctoo.

#### KAYES.

(1) A *region* in western Mali covering 197,760 square kilometers. Its population of 1,200,000 is distributed throughout seven *cercles*: Diema, Kayes, Yelimané, Nioro, Kénieba, Bafoulabé, and Kita. The *région* is traversed by the Senegal River and its affluents,

also by the Dakar-Niger Railway. It is, however, a poor *région* of subsistence farming. Peanuts are the principal cash crop, and livestock raising, especially goats and sheep, is important to the north in the *cercles* of Nioro and Yelimané.

(2) A *cercle* covering 22,188 kilometers and divided into 10 *arrondissements*. Its population is 210,000. Peanuts are the principal cash crop.

(3) A town of 50,000 situated on the Senegal River, capital of the *région* of Kayes and *chef-lieu* of the *cercle*. In 1855, the French constructed the fort of Médine 12 kilometers from Kayes, then a small Khassonké village. In 1892, Kayes became the capital of the Haut-Sénégal Niger Colony, until 1907, when Bamako received this designation. Kayes is an important rail center on Mali's only rail link to the coast. It was once an important trading center for gum arabic. The last French gum merchant from Kayes retired in 1972.

KEITA, AOUA (1912-1979).

Prominent woman activist, politician, and midwife who promoted women's rights within the context of the Union Soudinaise-RDA prior to and after Mali's independence in 1960. Keita was born in Bamako and educated at the Ecole des Jeunes Filles. She then received a certificate in primary school studies at the Orphelinat des Métisses in 1928. She studied midwifery in Dakar between 1928 and 1931 and was the first midwife to work in Gao (1932-1937). Her first husband, M. Diawara, a physician, got her interested in politics. They both became involved in clandestine anticolonial political activities over a period of several years. In 1946, they joined the Union Soudanaise-RDA and were active militants in several electoral campaigns.

Because she had not given birth to any children, her husband divorced her in 1949. She returned to Gao in 1951 but was soon exiled to the

Casamance region of Senegal because of her political activities. She practiced midwifery there and then returned to the French Soudan in 1953 where she was posted to Nara, a remote town on the Mauritanian border.

In 1956 the US-RDA Central Committee invited her as a consultant. After a brief period of study in Paris, she became assistant director of the Protection Maternal et Infantile (PMI) in Bamako. Ever active in politics, she was eventually elected to the central committee of the US-RDA at the party's fifth congress. She and Aissata Sow, president of the Soudanese Teachers' Union, founded the Union of Salaried Women of Bamako. She assumed important positions in the RDA and traveled to East Germany. She was a member of the committee that drafted the constitution for the Mali Federation and on April 8, 1959, was elected a deputy to the federation from Sikasso. In



1960 she was elected the first woman to Mali's National Assembly. She and others lobbied for changes in Mali's marital code and campaigned for women's rights.

Keita and other women developed the nascent women's movement in the French Soudan. This movement was shaped by their response to three distinct but related forces: male-dominated French colonial rule, the patriarchal character of traditional societies, and the tendency of male political activists struggling for independence not to put aside their tradition-derived superior status. Keita was a strong proponent of female emancipation in Mali and of the political interests of women.

Keita, a militant member of the US-RDA, left Mali in 1968 when President Modibo Keita was overthrown in a military coup d'etat. The coup effectively ended her political career. While in exile, she wrote her autobiography, *Femme d' Afrique* (1975). She later returned to Mali and died in Bamako in 1979 at the age of 67.

**KEITA, BOUBACAR.**

Politician and cabinet minister who served as minister of foreign affairs in the government of Abdoulaye Sékou Sow in 1993-1994. When the Sow government fell in February 1994, under pressure from radical wing ministers representing ADEMA, Keita was appointed prime minister.

**KEITA, DAOUDA (1930-1988).**

A leading Malian physician and health administrator. Keita was educated at the Ecole Normale Katibougou (1947-1951); Ecole Normale, Sebikotane, Senegal (1951-1952); University of Dakar, Senegal (1952-1957); and University of Paris (1957-1962), where he received his degree of doctor of medicine. He later attended the University of Montreal School of Public Health, where he received a diploma in public hygiene and a certificate in health statistics. From

1962 to 1964, he served as the médecin-chef of the Bafoulabé *cercle*. From 1964 to 1966, he was director of health services in the Sikasso *région*. In 1967, Keita was appointed director general of public health, a position he held until 1974. He died in an automobile accident on the Siby-Bamako road when the steering rod of his car broke.

#### KEITA DYNASTY.

A dynasty of Manding princes who ruled the Mali kingdom and its successor, the Mali empire, from the eleventh century until 1600. The most important emperors were Soundiata (1230-1255) and Kankan Moussa (1307-1332). The last emperor was Mama Maghan (c. 1600). See MALI EMPIRE.

#### KEITA, MAMADI (b. 1939).

Administrator who has served in a variety of posts, including those of inspector of economic services and

economic advisor to the presidency of the government (1968-1973). In 1973, Keita was named minister of industrial development and public works. Also in 1973, he became minister of public health and social affairs, replacing Ali Cissé, who was named ambassador to France. Keita served in this position until 1978.

KEITA, MAMADOU MADEIRA (b. 1917).

Politician and administrator born in the *cercle* of Kita. In 1937, Keita entered the colonial administrative service as a librarian-in-training in the governor general's office, first in Dakar, then in Conakry, Guinea. He served in the French army from 1940 to 1942. In 1942, he was appointed archivist to the government of Guinea and, in 1944, was attached to the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire (IFAN). He worked with IFAN in Guinea until he was transferred to Dahomey in 1952. In 1956, he was assigned to the IFAN in the Sudan and became its director until May 21, 1957, when he was named minister of justice, a post he held until the coup d'état on November 19, 1968. Keita was a member of the National Political Bureau of the Union Soudanaise-RDA. At the time of the coup d'état, he was in Mopti where he tried in vain to organize opposition to the military committee. He was arrested and held in detention until 1978. In 1991, he and others resuscitated the Union Soudanaise-RDA as a political party.

KEITA, MODIBO (1915-1977).

Former president of Mali, politician and schoolteacher, he was born in Bamako. He graduated from the Ecole William Ponty in Dakar and in 1945, along with Mamadou Konté, founded the Bloc Soudanais. In 1946, the Bloc Soudanais merged with the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain to become the Union Soudanaise-RDA, a political party with strong socialist ties. Keita was elected to the territorial assembly of the Sudan in 1948 and, from 1956 to 1958, served as a deputy and vice president of the French National

Assembly; he was a grand counselor of French West Africa from 1957 to 1959. On January 17, 1959, he became president of the Mali Federation, a position he held until the federation split apart on August 20, 1960. On September 20, 1960, Keita became chief of state and president of the government of the Mali Republic. He was overthrown by a military coup d'etat on November 19, 1968.

During his presidency, Keita charted socialist political and economic courses that eventually became unpopular with vast segments of Mali's population. By 1967, Mali's economic crisis had worsened so severely that Keita was willing to pursue long-stalled monetary talks with the French. On February 15, 1967, the French and the Malians signed new monetary accords providing for French support of the Mali franc. Mali agreed to devalue the Mali franc by 50% and

to reduce government expenditures. Many ideologists and Marxist radicals viewed these accords as a violation of basic party principles. Moderates viewed the agreements as essential to Mali's economic recovery.

On August 22, 1967, Keita launched a cultural revolution to appease the radicals. The National Political Bureau was dissolved and the Comité National de Defense de la Revolution (CNDR), founded in 1966, was revived. The CNDR was heavily stacked with radicals; many of the original moderates were dropped. At the regional and local levels, many such *comités* were established and the Popular Militia, the armed segment of the party, was revitalized. Through a series of national and local purges, the CNDR shifted widespread discontent toward high officials exposed for alleged corruption. On January 16, 1968, the National Assembly dissolved itself and authorized Keita to appoint a legislative delegation. Following the pattern of the "cultural revolution" in China, Keita unleashed the Popular Militia to such a degree that they became an authoritarian, oppressive armed force throughout the country. Over the radio and in the press, Keita was incessantly praised as "Le Guide Suprême de la Révolution" and "Le Guide éclairé." The Popular Militia made widespread arrests, detained and tortured prisoners without trial, and harassed army officers. Progressing at a rapidly intensifying rate, these abuses of power alienated most of the population. Because Keita surrounded himself with radicals, there were no moderate voices to advise him against this course.

Although there was a groundswell of discontent against Keita and his policies and practices among the masses, this opposition was insufficient to topple his regime. The Popular Militia's increasing size and audacity toward the army motivated some young officers to act. On November 19, 1968, they overthrew the Keita regime. Keita was

returning to Koulikoro from Mopti on the General Soumaré river steamer. As he drove by car to Bamako, he was arrested on the outskirts of Koulikoro and held in detention at various places in Mali, including Kidal. In early 1977, as President Traoré was moving toward greater civilian participation in government, Keita was transferred to Bamako (some say, in preparation for his release). The transfer was to have been the military government's public gesture of reconciliation toward the former regime.

Because most of the remaining members of the Keita government were released in 1977 and 1978, there is considerable support for this interpretation; however, Keita died suddenly on May 16, 1977. His death notice was read over the radio in an announcement paid for by his family. The notice characterized him as a "teacher in retirement."

Keita was buried on May 18, 1977. His funeral was accompanied by street demonstrations against the military government, and many

people were arrested. Although some of those arrested were Keita supporters, others were not and merely used the opportunity to demonstrate against the military government. Keita's sudden death touched off rumors that he had either been poisoned or killed by lethal injection. These rumors also held that President Traoré's personal physician, Dr. Faran Samaké, was involved in killing Keita. To combat these rumors, President Traoré announced, on June 6, 1977, that the former president had died of a lung infection. The rumors, however, have continued to persist. After the fall of the Traoré regime in 1991, Keita supporters began a concerted effort to rehabilitate his political image. In so doing, they tried to downplay his human rights violations and the antidemocratic character of his dictatorial regime.

KEITA, MOUSSA (b. 1925).

Politician, botanist, and schoolteacher, he was born in Bamako. A brother of President Modibo Keita, Keita graduated from the Ecole William Ponty in Dakar, the Institute of Higher Studies in Dakar and, in 1952, the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Montpellier. A specialist in tropical botany, in 1958 he became professor of natural sciences in Bamako. From 1959 to 1961, he served as commissioner of youth; in 1961 he was named high commissioner general of youth and sports, a post he held until November 19, 1968. Keita was in Paris at the time of the military coup d'etat.

KEITA, MOUSSA LEO (b. 1927).

Diplomat and administrator. He was educated at the Ecole Normale at Katibougou and took foreign service training courses in Paris, Geneva, and New York. In 1961, he served as assistant secretary-general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then as chief of cabinet from 1961 to 1962 and secretary-general (1962-1964). From 1964 to 1969, he was Mali's ambassador to the United States, Brazil, Canada, and Haiti, as well as Mali's permanent representative to the United

Nations and ambassador to Cuba. In 1969 he was named ambassador to Egypt and returned to Mali in 1972 to become chief of protocol.

KEITA, N'FALY (1868-1942).

Son of Tokontan Keita and *diamana tigui* (canton chief) of Kita. His son Mamadou Keita served as an interpreter to the French administrators of Kita. *See* GALLIENI.

KEITA, SALIF (1949- ).

A leading Malian singer, he was born in Djoliba, near Bamako. His albinism resulted in poor eyesight and prevented him from becoming a teacher. Keita was the object of discrimination throughout his childhood. Endowed with a distinctive voice and wailing singing style, he began performing in bars in Bamako. His real break came when he was recruited by the Rail Band to



perform with them at the Buffet de la Gare hotel, adjacent to the Bamako train station. Keita remained with this band for three years and then joined a rival one, Les Ambassadeurs, which played at the Motel de Bamako. He changed this band's essential repertoire by transforming traditional Malian music into a popular variant. Keita's talent at reformulating *mandjou* (traditional Manding songs) and his beautiful singing voice brought him and the band local success. He and the band left Mali, first going to Ivory Coast and finally to Paris, where in 1984 he settled in the Montreuil suburb. In 1978, Keita and Les Ambassadeurs recorded an album in Abidjan, *Mandjou*, which was released in 1979. Other albums followed, including *Primpin* (1981), recorded with American musicians, *Djougouya* (1982), and *Toukan* (1983).

Residence in Paris brought Keita into contact with musical influences from other parts of Africa and the rest of the world. As a result, his own music changed. His international recognition came with his 1986 solo album, *Soro*. In recording this album he abandoned use of the traditional kora (a 21-string lute) and xylophone and instead used synthesizers and electric guitars. In 1987 he released *Ko-yan* (what's going on) and *Balendala Djibe* and *Amen* in 1991.

Keita's lyrics address a number of contemporary Malian social problems through the use of anecdotes. It is significant that as Mali's leading vocalist, his family is not from the class of bards (*dyeli*) who in traditional society produce and perform musical arrangements. See ARTISTS.

#### KEITA, SOUNDIATA.

The founder of the Mali empire who ruled from 1230 to 1260. (Some scholars date the end of his reign to 1255.) Soundiata inherited the small kingdom centered around Kangaba that had been ruled by the

Keitas since the twelfth century.

At the time Soundiata assumed power, Mali was a small vassal state of Sosso, a powerful kingdom to the northeast that had emerged upon the disintegration of the Ghana empire. Named Mari Djata, he was later called Soundiata, meaning the "lion prince." Oral traditions about Soundiata have abounded for several centuries in what is now Mali. In these stories, he is depicted as a heroic god-king; from them it is obviously difficult to discern fact from fiction.

Ibn Khaldun, the fourteenth-century Arab geographer and traveler, is the principal source of written history about Soundiata. Between 1230 and 1234, through military conquest, Soundiata expanded his small kingdom into a large empire. He conquered the regions to the west and south of Kangaba and, militarily strengthened by these new forces, attacked Soumangourou Kanté, king of Sosso (1235). Soundiata defeated Soumangourou at Kirina, north of present-day Koulikoro. With this conquest, he acquired all of Sosso and its vassal states.

In 1240, he moved north into what is now Mauritania, where he conquered the declining Ghana empire. At the time of Soundiata's death, the Mali empire embraced most of what is now western Mali and portions of Sénégal and Guinea. *See* MALI EMPIRE.

KEITA, TOKONTAN (c. 1840-1908).

Chief of Makandiamougou and *togo tigui* (strongman of Kita) who signed the treaty with Gallieni on April 25, 1880, which placed Kita under French protection. The sword which Gallieni gave to Tokontan on this occasion is still in the possession of the Keita family. A fort was built at Kita by the French in 1881. *See* GALLIENI.

KE-MACINA.

*See* MACINA.

KENEDOUGOU.

A traditional area in southern Mali lying along the right bank of the Bagoé River in the modern *cercle* of Sikasso. Kénédougou's literal translation is "country of the plain." *See* KENEDOUGOU KINGDOM.

KENEDOUGOU KINGDOM.

A small seventeenth-century kingdom founded by the Dioula in present-day southern Mali. By the mid-eighteenth century, the kingdom, under Daoula Ba Traoré, had become an organized state. During much of the nineteenth century, the Traoré Dioula of Kénédougou were at war with their arch-rivals the Ouattara of Kong and Bobo-Dioulasso. Daoula Traoré, who ruled from 1840 to 1877, successfully fought the Ouattara and then expanded his own territory and consolidated his administrative control. The latter was accomplished through much bloodshed, which earned for Daoula the reputation of being a cruel despot. In 1877, he was succeeded by Tieba Traoré, the man considered by most to have been the greatest

king of Kéné Dougou. Tieba abandoned Daoula's capital of Bougoula and built a new capital at Sikasso. He consolidated his predecessor's possessions, conquered the Minianka, and then repulsed Samory. In 1887, Samory, who had signed a peace treaty with the French at Bissandougou, had a free hand to once again attack Sikasso, by then a walled city. He laid siege to the town for 15 months, but finally withdrew. Tieba conducted several punitive expeditions against the Dioula and died in 1893, but not before gaining an alliance with the French against Samory.

After Tieba's death, Babemba Traoré, his brother, was elected king. Much of Babemba's reign was spent attempting to subdue peripheral areas of the kingdom. At the time he became king, Archinard had already taken Ségou, Djenné, and Bandiagara. In 1890, Tieba, his predecessor, had signed a treaty with the French, in effect requiring him

to submit to French authority. This occurred after the French had come to Tieba's aid when he was being besieged for 15 months by Samory (1887-1889). Archinard had sent Capitain Quiquandon and 3,000 Bambara soldiers to Tieba's aid, without whose help Sikasso would have fallen to Samory. In 1898, Babemba refused to send his annual tax of 80 head of cattle to the French commandant at Ségou. He also expelled Captain Morisson, the French military ambassador, from Sikasso and had him and his group of 14 men attacked on February 2. The French used these incidents as adequate reason to attack Sikasso, although they would have attacked anyway if Babemba did not peacefully submit to them.

On April 15, 1898, the French attacked Sikasso; they took the city on May 1 and Babemba committed suicide. He lacked Tieba's military genius and diplomatic skills, although he obviously had great courage and was able to expand Kéné Dougou into parts of present-day Burkina Faso and the Ivory Coast.

#### KENIEBA.

A *cercle* in southwestern Mali covering the ancient region of the Bambouk. Kénieba encompasses 14,000 square kilometers and has a population of 120,000 people, most of whom are Malinké. The *chef-lieu* is the town of Kénieba, which has a population of 3,000. Kénieba is an important peanut-producing area, and, in recent years, oranges have been cultivated. The gold mines of Kénieba are still worked. Kénieba, which means "the great sands," is a very picturesque région of mesas, high mountains, and escarpments. There is considerable wildlife in the *cercle*, especially in the high mountains of the *arrondissement* of Falea.

#### KHASSO.

A Malinké state that originally extended from Sénégal to the Kaarta

kingdom along both banks of the Sénégal River. In the eighteenth century, Khasso came under the rule of Peul from the Fouta Djallon in the person of Demba Segha, who managed to create a moderately powerful state. His capital was at Koniakari where, in 1796, he welcomed Mungo Park. Demba Segha was succeeded by Haoua Demba in 1825. Haoua Demba ruled until 1840, at which time he was succeeded by Dyoukou Sambala.

Beginning in 1848, civil wars tore Khasso apart and kept it weak. By the middle of the nineteenth century, two groups assumed prominence over the others: Dyoukou Sambala and his followers, who moved their capital from Koniakari to Médine near Kayes; and Logo, whose headquarters were at Sabousiré. The Khasso principalities frequently allied with neighboring states (such as the Kaarta kingdom), paying them tribute and in return receiving protection and help against rival Khasso principalities. Dyoukou Sambala allied himself with the

French, this move a natural extension of the Khasso political strategy of seeking outside allies to help during internal struggles. In 1857, Sambala (with the French) and his forces were besieged by El Hadj Omar and his forces in the fortress at Médine. Omar was able to exploit the rivalries in Khasso during his campaign of conquest, rallying such allies as Kartoum Sambala, Dyoukou's brother and rival, not because of conquest or religious alliance, but because of mutual interest. Omar eventually took Koniakary in 1855. Shortly thereafter, he conquered most of the Khasso chiefdoms and principalities, which continued their feuding even under Tukulor domination. Dyoukou Sambala, who had been defeated by the Tukulor, was only too pleased to sign an agreement with the French in 1855 allowing them to build a fort at Médine. The French hoped to win all of the feuding Sambalas over to their side, but they were unsuccessful, eventually aligning themselves with Dyoukou Sambala and his supporters while Omar enjoyed the support of the rival faction. Omar's attempts to subjugate Dyoukou Sambala's faction brought him into direct conflict with the French. Omar, having suffered defeats at the hands of the French and Dyoukou Sambala, then disengaged.

By 1860, the Senegal River became the unofficial boundary between the French sphere of influence on the left bank and the Tukulor empire on the right. The French were anxious to consolidate their present position and had no desire to confront Omar. Khasso remained the geographical interface between the French and the Tukulor. The latter, however, did not accept the river as an official boundary and, in fact, held the allegiance of Niamody, chief of Logo, who ruled a Khasso state on the left bank of the river. Despite Tukulor hegemony over Kaarta and parts of Khasso, petty civil wars continued. In 1873 and 1874, Amadou, the son of El Hadj Omar and ruler of the Tukulor empire, had to put down subalterns' challenges to his authority in

Kaarta. French neutrality greatly helped him. The French commercial houses that traded along the Sénégal, and with the interior, exerted enormous influence on French policy, both locally and in Paris.

Protracted civil wars in the area were ruinous to French commercial monopoly. To neutralize these threats, the French tried to get the British to give up the Gambia and attempted to detach Logo, the Tukulor's principal Khasso ally. Peaceful efforts to bring Logo over failed; finally, in November 1877, Sambala invaded Logo. Brière de l'Isle, the French governor of Senegal, authorized the invasion because he hoped that Sambala could subjugate Logoa deed, which if accomplished, would have increased French control in the region. Niamody, the ruler of Logo, was able to put up a strong defense with Tukulor help, and Sambala came close to being defeated. In September 1878, Brière de l'Isle sent troops to Médine; on September 22, they marched



against Logo, defeating Niamody and destroying his capital, Sabousiré. See LOGO; KONIAKARI.

#### KHASSONKE.

An ethnic group, presently numbering about 80,000, who live in western Mali in the *cercle* of Kayes, Bafoulabé, and Kita. Their homeland, known as the Khasso, consisted of several small chiefdoms and kingdoms which merged and broke apart several times. The Khasso was attacked by El Hadj Omar Tall in the mid-nineteenth century, but neither he nor his successors were able to completely conquer it. Sambala, chief of Médine, allied himself with the French against El Hadj Omar and helped Paul Holle defend Médine.

#### KIDAL.

An autonomous *région* in the extreme northeast of Mali, bordering on Algeria, created on May 15, 1991, in accordance with the January 6, 1991, agreement signed in Tamanrasset, Algeria, between Mali and Tuareg rebel groups. Prior to this date and since Mali's independence in 1960, Kidal was a *cercle* of the Gao region. Kidal covers 151,430 square kilometers and has a population of 75,000, most of whom are Tuareg and Maure nomads. The small town of Kidal has 2,000 inhabitants and is situated in the low-lying Adrar des Iforas mountains. Following the Tuareg Revolt of 1962, a sizeable portion of the Malian army was stationed in Kidal. The severe droughts of the 1970s and 1980s forced many nomads to flee to Algeria, as the Malian government did little to help them. Both the Keita and Traoré regimes committed serious human rights violations against the Tuareg and tried through oppressive actions to drive them out of Mali into neighboring states. They viewed them as an unwanted and potentially dangerous minority group. Tuareg livestock were also frequently expropriated by corrupt government and military officials.

During the negotiations to end the 1990-1992 Tuareg revolt, the Malian government agreed to create an autonomous region for the Tuareg, giving them significant local control in government. The *cercle* of Kidal was transformed into this autonomous *region*. It differs from Mali's other seven *régions* in the significant degree of its autonomy.

Between 1960 and 1991, political prisoners were routinely sent to Kidal and also to the Taoudeni salt mine prison (closed in 1988). During the 1960s, the commandant of the *cercle* of Kidal was Captain Diby Silas Diarra, an efficient but ruthless army officer. Although he was respected because he created an impressive physical infrastructure in the town of Kidal, he was also greatly feared since he judged and executed at will those Tuareg he suspected of subversion.

During 1992 and 1993, following the National Pact, numerous Malian Tuareg refugees in Algeria were resettled in Kidal.

The Tilemsi Valley, where a river once flowed into the Niger, cuts through the *région* and contains many prehistoric rock paintings. See AZAWAD; TUAREG REVOLT OF 1990-1992.

#### KIMPARANA.

A small town in the *cercle* of San which has undergone growth since 1970 because of the development of local cotton production.

Kimparana is now a transportation center (since the opening of the paved road from Kimparana to the Burkina Faso frontier). Most of the dried fish passing from Mopti to the coast goes through Kimparana. This road, like the San-Koutiala-Sikasso road, is called "la route des poissons." Kimparana is the *chef-lieu* of an *arrondissement* of the same name.

#### KITA.

(1) A *cercle* in western Mali in the *région* of Kayes covering 35,000 square kilometers and subdivided into eight *arrondissements*, among which are Central, Toukoto, Sébékoré, and Sirakoro. In the *cercle* live 160,000 people, 15% of whom reside in the town of Kita, the *chef-lieu*. Kita is a principal peanut-growing *région* of Mali.

(2) Kita Mountain. Known as Kita Kourou, it rises 617 meters behind the town of Kita. There are several caves in the mountain, some containing prehistoric paintings. The flora of Kita Kourou is unusual. Among the plants found is *Teclea sudanica*, known as *kinkeliba*, which is used to treat fever.

#### KOLOKANI.

A *cercle* of the *région* of Koulikoro covering 11,700 square kilometers. Its population numbers 150,000 people, most of whom are Bambara subsistence farmers. Kolokani is the center of the BéléDougou region, most of whose inhabitants are still animist. In 1915, in reaction to the forced conscription of its residents into the

French army, the Bambara of Kolokani revolted against the French under the leadership of Koumi Diossé Traoré. See BELEDOUGOU; KOUMI DIOSSE TRAORE

KOLONDIEBA.

A *cercle* in the *région* of Sikasso covering 9200 square miles and subdivided into five *arrondissements*. Its 140,160 people are engaged mainly in subsistence agriculture.

KONARE, ALPHA OUMAR (1946- )

Mali's fourth president, who assumed office on June 8, 1992. Born in Kayes, the son of a school teacher, Dougoukolo Konaré, he was educated at Kayes, Bamako, and at the Normal School at Katibougou, from where he graduated in 1964. After a brief teaching assignment in Kayes, he entered the Ecole Normal Supérieure in Bamako where he studied history and geography. During his years there he was secretary general of the students'

association. Graduating in 1969, he was assigned to the lycée in Markala and then to the one in Badalabougou, a quartier of Bamako. In 1974, he was appointed Director of the Institut des Sciences Humaines and the following year was placed at the head of the historic and ethnographic heritage division of the Ministry of Culture where he served for three years. In 1975, he received a doctoral degree in history and archeology from the University of Warsaw.

As head of the historic and ethnographic heritage division of the Ministry of Culture, Konaré conducted important archeological field research, the results of which he published in 1977. He also worked toward the building of a new National Museum, which was finally opened in 1979.

In 1979, General Traoré appointed Konaré Minister of Youth, Arts and Culture. However, the following year he resigned from this post after a dispute with the president. On leaving the government, Konaré took a teaching position at the Institut de Formation et de Recherche Appliquée. There, he continued to conduct historical research and published several important books, *Constitutions du Mali* (1982), *Sikasso Tata*, and *Les Grandes Dates du Mali* (1983), which he coauthored with his wife, Adam Konaré Ba, a historian.

In 1983, Konaré founded a cultural cooperative called Jamana (the country) and turned his efforts to putting out several publications, including *Les Echos*, Mali's first recent independent newspaper. While he devoted much of his time to cultural endeavors, writing such books as *Bibliographie Archéologique du Mali*, Jamana also became a center of political activity. In the realm of political history, Konaré wrote *Le Concept du Pouvoir en Afrique* and *Les Partis Politique au Mali*. Jamana's publications, appearing as they did in several languages, reached wide audiences in Mali. They and Jamana's other activities

thrived in the more liberal environment reluctantly permitted by the Traoré regime. The latter had little choice in this if it wanted to continue receiving French aid. Konaré became active in international cultural organizations and was given leadership roles in UNESCO and the International Council of Muslims (ICOM).

In 1990, Mali's prodemocracy forces began to take shape. Konaré and several associates addressed an open letter to President Traoré on August 7, 1990, asking for democracy and multipartyism. This now famous open letter was in effect the opening salvo against Traoré's military regime. In late October, Konaré and other signatories to the letter set up a prodemocracy group called the Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali (ADEMA). This group and several other prodemocracy groups soon became galvanized with students seeking better entitlements and labor unionists campaigning for job security and better wages. Although these three broad groups had specific

agendas, they tightly united into a powerful protest movement, largely funded from France, whose ultimate goal was to topple the military regime.

Violent protests in early 1991 led to what was initially an opportunistic coup d'etat led by Lieutenant Colonel Amadou Toumani Touré on March 26, 1991. Intimidated by protestor threats of continued violence and the prospect of foreign aid being cut, Touré yielded and put in motion the processes for democratic multiparty elections and for writing a new constitution.

In May 1991, ADEMA became a political party with Konaré as its leader. A new constitution was approved by referendum on January 12, 1992, and legislative elections held in two rounds, the last of which (March 8) gave Konaré's ADEMA a majority of 76 seats out of 129. Presidential elections were held in two rounds, April 12 and April 26. In the first round, Konaré won 44.95% of the vote, followed by the candidate of the then resuscitated US-RDA, Tieoulé Mamadou Konaté, who won 14.51%. A second round of elections in April 26, gave Konaré 70.71% of the vote and Konaté of the US-RDA 30.07%.

Konaré assumed the presidency on June 8, 1992, for a term of five years as provided by the constitution. The same day that Touré resigned he immediately faced serious social and economic problems. Although his party had an absolute majority in the National Assembly, it was not in control at the local level where other parties held power. His first government, headed by Younoussi Touré, an economist and banker, lasted less than a year. Although portfolios were given to the US-RDA and the Parti pour la Démocratie et le Progrès (PDP), the Comité National d'Initiative Démocratique (CNID) was excluded, as were other parties. The latter soon formed a Front pour la Sauvegard de la Démocratie (FSD) to serve as a united opposition to ADEMA's

parliamentary control.

Konaré's first months in office were difficult ones. He and his government were faced with a continuing armed rebellion in the north by the Tuareg, which was not brought to a negotiated settlement until late 1992. Within six weeks of assuming office, air force troops attempted to rebel over wages and benefits, and student protests over entitlements became almost constant. In addition, the members of the national labor union, the UNTM, called a general strike a month after Konaré's inauguration, demanding a 50% pay rise. Although the demands of students and labor unionists have been constant over the years, they cannot possibly be met by the government.

Konaré's early months in office were shadowed by the trial of ex-President Traoré and members of his regime and by an embezzlement scandal involving the Minister of Mines, Industry and Energy, Abdoulaye Camara.



Concerned over irresponsible reporting by an independent press and its potential for inciting political upheaval, the ADEMA-dominated National Assembly adapted a press law on November 14, 1992.

Although the law gave all political parties access to the state media, it also set up a high commission to set standards for the profession. This latter component was strongly opposed by other parties in the assembly which boycotted the vote.

Following violent student protests in April, 1993, Younoussi Touré's government fell. Realizing that he had to build a broader political base and coalitions with other parties, Konaré appointed Abdoulaye Sékou Sow prime minister and brought CNID into the government.

Most of Konaré's domestic problems are the same as those which confronted his predecessor: demands from civil servants for higher wages and better entitlements, demands from students for better stipends and guaranteed state employment after graduation, a bloated civil service, unprofitable parastatals, a weak private sector, a large foreign debt, a reliance on foreign aid, few natural resources, a small internal market for industrial goods which are noncompetitive on the international market, an uneasy truce with the Tuareg of the north, etc.

Although unionists and students joined the bloody protests of early 1991 to demand multiparty democracy, their principal goal was to obtain group benefits. While Konaré has been able to work out accommodations with other political parties, it will be difficult to impossible for him to do so with students, teachers, and trade unionists. The new National Assembly gives a strong voice to rural constituencies whose demands were largely ignored by the Keita and Traoré governments. They will no longer allow urban civil servants and students to enjoy entitlements at their expense.

Although Konaré has expressed Marxist political views, his policies

reflect a pragmatism forged by post-cold war realities and by Mali's heavy reliance on Western donors. A proven organizer of protests and a man of vision, Konaré made many promises during his election campaign that he cannot keep.

As Mali's first democratically elected president in over 30 years, Konaré's success is critical to the survival of democracy in the country. His greatest challenges are Mali's weak economy and the host of social problems it has created. He has been skillful at creating working coalitions with other political parties and in opening dialogues with diverse constituencies. He is widely respected for his integrity, love of country, scholarly accomplishments, leadership, and political skills.

KONATE, MAMADOU (1897-1956).

Politician and schoolteacher who in 1946 helped establish the Union Soudanaise. Born in Kati, near Bamako, Konaté graduated from the Ecole William Ponty in Dakar

and then taught school in a number of rural areas. In 1930, he was assigned to teach at the Ecole Primaire Supérieure and in 1934 directed the then new Ecole Rurale (Ecole Mamadou Konaté, after 1958). Along with Quezzin Coulibaly, in 1937 he organized the first African union of teachers of Upper Volta. During the early years of modern political development, he was a member of a number of voluntary associations, including the Association des Lettres, the Association Sportive Soudanaise, of which he was a founder, and the William Ponty Alumni Association. When the first elections were held in the Sudan in October 1945, he ran against Fily Dabo Sissoko for a seat in the First Constituent Assembly and lost. Soon after, he and Modibo Keita cofounded the Bloc Soudanais, which eventually became the Union Soudanaise. In 1946, Konaté ran for a seat in the Second Constituent Assembly and again lost to Sissoko.

As secretary-general of the Union Soudanaise-RDA, Konaté built up party support among urban *evolués* and gained control of most of the voluntary associations in the Sudan. About 1953, Konaté fostered the development of the party in rural areas. Konaté was elected to the French National Assembly in 1946 and served in the federal assembly as president. He was the chief architect of the Union Soudanaise and of Mali's eventual independence. By 1956, the Union Soudanaise was the dominant political force in the Sudan. Konaté's death in 1956 from hepatitis paved the way for Modibo Keita's rise to prominence.

KONATE, THIEOULE (b. 1933).

A lawyer who served as the managing director of the Banque de Développement du Mali (BDM). In May 1974, he was named minister of finance.

KONATE, TIEOULE MAMADOU.

Politician and son of Mamadou Konaté the founder of the Union

Soudanaise-RDA. After spending many years outside of Mali during the Traoré regime, he returned in 1991 following the coup d'etat that ousted the latter. He participated in the resuscitation of the Marxist political party of Modibo Keita which his father had founded. In January the US-RDA held a congress to select a presidential candidate. Konaté was initially chosen, but his advocacy of purging the party of "Stalinism" gave many hard-liners in the party leadership serious concerns about his candidacy. The party leadership rejected the choice of the Congress and instead picked a former UN official, Baba Hakib Haidara. Finally, both candidates stood in the first round of elections held on April 12, 1992. Konaté won 14.5% of the first-round vote. However, in the second round, he won 30% of the vote. This reflected both the choice of older voters who were associated with the party of his father and the strength

of Marxism among Mali's cadres formed during the regime of Modibo Keita. In 1994, Konaté and his supporters left the US-RDA and started a new political party.

KONE, JEAN-MARIE (1913-1988).

Politician and cabinet minister who represented the moderate wing of the Union Soudanaise RDA. Born in Sikasso in southern Mali, Koné graduated from the Ecole William Ponty in 1935. After serving as a local secretary-general of the US-RDA in Sikasso, he was elected to the Territorial Legislative Assembly of the Sudan and its successor bodies. From May 24, 1957, to November 24, 1958, he served as vice president, then president of the council of government of the Sudan. From 1958 to 1959, he was president of the provisional government of the Sudanese Republic. From April 15, 1959, to January 20, 1961, he was vice president in charge of justice of the government of the Sudanese Republic and of the Republic of Mali, its successor. In 1962, he was named minister of state in charge of planning and coordination of economic and financial affairs, a post he held until 1968 when he was purged by Modibo Keita. On November 22, 1968, the governing military committee which had toppled the Modibo Keita regime three days before named him to the cabinet of the provisional government as minister of foreign affairs and cooperation. Koné held this post until 1969 when he was replaced. He then retired to private life and died in 1988 at the age of 75.

KONE, LT. COL. MISSA.

Malian soldier who participated in planning and executing the 1968 coup d'etat against Modibo Keita. He was a member of the Military Committee of National Liberation and served as commissioner of information of the military committee. From 1978 to 1979, he served as minister of health and social affairs. He retired from the CMLN on June 28, 1979.

KONE, N'FAGNANAMA (b. 1934). Malian agricultural engineer and cabinet minister. Born in Nioro du Sahel, he attended the Poudriare Primary School (1945-1950), Lycée Terrasson de Fougères, Bamako (1950-57), Lycée Fountainbleau (1957-59), and Ecole Supérieure Agronomique, Montpellier, France (1959-62). Between 1963 and 1970, he held various positions with the Office du Niger and in 1970 became the assistant director of the Bamako office of the Compagnie Française pour le Développement des Fibres Textiles (CFDT). He later became director of this organization and then director of the Compagnie Malienne pour le Développement des Fibres Textiles (CMDT) in 1974. Between 1978 and 1980, he served as minister of rural agriculture; in 1980, he was appointed minister of agriculture.

## KONIAKARI.

A region and village in northwestern Mali in the *cercle* of Kayes. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Koniakari was a powerful Khasso chiefdom. Demba Sega became chief of Koniakari in 1810 and eventually became king of the larger state of Khasso. In 1796, Demba Sega received Mungo Park at his capital, Koniakari. Later, Koniakari became part of the Bambara Kaarta kingdom. In 1857, it was conquered by El Hadj Omar Tall. Moktar Tall, one of El Hadj Omar Tall's sons, became *emir* of Diomboko; Koniakari was his capital. Moktar Tall took Niamody of Logo's side in the incessant, petty Khasso civil wars. In 1890, Archinard militarily dislodged the Tukulor from Koniakari as part of the French military onslaught against the Tukulor empire's Kaarta province. Sambala, the long-time French Khasso ally, was placed in charge of the fortress and forces at Koniakari. Dyoukou Sambala was succeeded by Makhani Sambala and then in 1891 by Demba-Yamadou, who moved his residence from Médine to Koniakari. Demba Yamadou died in 1902 and was succeeded by Sidi Guessé, who died in 1905. At that point, Khasso was again divided into two provinces (Koniakari and Logo-Natiaga) after having been united in 1891. Koniakari became a portion of the *cercle* of Kayes during French colonial rule and has remained so since Mali's independence in 1960. See KHASSO; LOGO; MOKTAR TALL; SAMBALA.

## KORO.

A *cercle* of the Mopti *région* situated on the sandy plains below the Bandiagara escarpment. Its 200,000 inhabitants are primarily Dogon farmers and Peul herdsmen.

KOULIKORO. (1) A *région* created in 1977 that essentially includes all areas of the former Bamako *région* except the district of Bamako. The *région* covers 90,100 square kilometers and has a total population

of almost 1,250,000. It is divided into seven *cercles*: Nara, Banamba, Kolokani, Koulikoro, Kati, Kangaba, and Dioila. Most of the population consists of Bambara farmers. Cash crops produced in the *région* include peanuts, cotton, tobacco, and shea butter. Livestock raising is important in the *cercle* of Nara. Its *chef-lieu* is in the town of Koulikoro.

(2) A *cercle* of the *région* of Koulikoro to the north of the Niger River covering 6000 square kilometers. Its 130,000 inhabitants are primarily Bambara farmers. Most of the *cercle* lies in the Bélé Dougou area. There are a number of large plantations in the *cercle* along the river, many of which produce large quantities of mangoes for the cash market. There is an agricultural Polytechnic Institute at Katibougou, the scene of several serious student riots during the 1980s and 1990s.

(3) A town, the *chef-lieu* of the *cercle* and of the *région*. The name Koulikoro means "under the mountain," the name coming from the



large mountain behind the town. Koulikoro is the terminus of the Dakar-Niger railroad and the river terminus for large boats on the Niger. As a consequence, it is an important freight depot. The major shipyard in the country is located in Koulikoro.

#### KOULOUBA.

A mountain behind the city of Bamako where many government ministries are situated. The presidential palace is on Koulouba.

#### KOUMI-DIOSSE TRAORE (1840-1915).

[Bambara chief and folk hero who was born in the Bélé Dougou. At a young age, Traoré became a warrior of great reputation and was put in charge of the fighting forces of the Bélé Dougou. Between 1872 and 1887, he successfully combatted the Sarakole and the Tukolor. In 1890, he joined forces with Archinard in attacking and destroying Ouessébougou, a town north of Ségou that had provided a haven for the fleeing Tukolor. He cooperated with the French until the conquest of Sikasso in 1898, after which he refused to provide the French with porters. For this, he was exiled to Timbuctoo until 1904. In 1915, he led a revolt in the Bélé Dougou against the French, protesting the conscription of his people into the army for the war in Europe. On February 25, 1915, the French sent an expeditionary force against him. When the French occupied the village of Koumi, Traoré and his chief supporters committed suicide by disemboweling themselves.

#### KOUTIALA.

(1) A *cercle* in southeastern Mali in the *région* of Sikasso. Covering 13,430 square miles with a population of 250,000, Koutiala is economically one of the most productive agricultural areas of Mali. It is divided into *arrondissements*, of which M'Pessoba, Central, and Kouniana are the most important. Koutiala is one of the principal cotton-growing areas in Mali. There is an agricultural research station

and experimental farm at M'Pessoba. The *chef-lieu* of the *cercle* is the town of Koutiala, which has a population of 50,600. The population is primarily Minianka. During the administrative reforms of 1977, the *cercle* of Koutiala was reduced in size, losing five *arrondissements* to the new *cercle* of Bla.

KOUYATE, BATROU SEKOU.

[Malian bard known for the excellence of his traditional *kora* music. The *kora* is a 21-string lute. Kouyaté is a Malinké bard from the *cercle* of Kita. He is among Mali's best-known artists. His wife, Djontan, who sang traditional songs to his music, died in 1980.

KOUYATE, SEYDOU BADIAN (b. 1928).

Physician, writer, and politician born in Bamako. In 1955, Kouyaté obtained his medical

degree from the University of Montpellier. In 1957, he became minister of rural economy and planning of the Sudan and in 1960 held the same position in Mali. In 1962, he was named minister of development. A member of the National Political Bureau of the Union Soudanaise-RDA, he became a member of the National Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CNDR) in 1967. He was a leader of the radical Marxist ideologues on the committee in the government. He was arrested on November 19, 1968, and released on June 2, 1978, after being held in detention for almost 10 years. In 1991 he became secretary-general of the revived US-RDA.

#### KUNTA.

A group of Maure who live in the Sahara to the north of Timbuctoo. They number around 40,000. *See* BERABICH.

#### L

##### LAING, MAJOR GORDON (1794-1826).

British officer and explorer who started out from Tripoli in 1826 and reached Timbuctoo in August of that year. Laing was murdered by his Berabich Arab escort on his return across the Sahara. Very little is known of his experiences and stay in Timbuctoo. He is the first European known to have entered Timbuctoo.

##### LENZ, OSKAR (1848-1925).

Austrian explorer. He visited Timbuctoo between July 1 and 19, 1880, coming down from Morocco and passing through Tindouf and Araouane. He left Marrakesh March 6, 1880. After leaving Timbuctoo, he traveled west to Sokolo, Nara, and Nioro, arriving at the French fort at Médine on October 18, 1880. He then sailed down the Senegal to Saint-Louis and arrived on November 22, 1880; he had left Tangiers on December 22, 1879, 11 months before. Lenz was the first European to visit Timbuctoo since Barth had come there some 25

years before. The two-volume account of his remarkable voyage was published in German and French only, the latter edition coming out in 1887, entitled *Timbuctou, Voyage au Maroc, au Sahara et au Soudan*. This work contains a rich, detailed account of the peoples and places Lenz visited, as well as of the events occurring at the time. Unfortunately, Lenz has been overlooked by many anglophone writers, primarily because his writings do not exist in English. Following his visit, another 14 years were to elapse before Europeans again entered Timbuctoo.

LEO AFRICANUS (El-Hassan Ibn Wezaz) (1493-1560?).

An Arab traveler born in Grenada. He moved to Fez with his parents and traveled widely in North Africa, visiting the western Sudan during the

apogee of the Songhay empire of Askia the Great as part of a mission sent to the Songhay empire by the Shereef of Fez. The mission was headed by Leo's uncle. Leo appears to have made this voyage in 1510. He visited Timbuctoo and sailed up the Niger to Djenné and Mali. He later went on to Gao and into the Hausa kingdoms of Kano, Zaria, Katsina, Zamfara, and Bornu. In 1518, he was captured by Christian corsairs. Because of his intelligence and the range of his experiences, he was presented to Pope Leo X, a Medici pope, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The captive was freed, given a pension, and converted to Christianity. He taught Arabic at Bologna University. Given the name John Leo, he became known as Leo Africanus.

When he was captured, he had with him a rough draft (written in Arabic) of his book *The History and Description of Africa and the Notable Things Therein Contained*. He completed this work in 1526 after the original manuscript had been lost at sea following its seizure by the pirates who had captured him. Leo's book contains the best detailed period descriptions of the western Sudan. It was published in Italian in 1550, and in English in 1660. This work is the only detailed account of the western Sudan as it was between the time of Ibn Batuta (1353) and the era of the nineteenth-century explorers. (Leo perpetuated the error of El Idrisi [1099-1180] who never visited these areas of Africa by saying that the Niger flowed from east to west. This error was not corrected through on-site examination until Mungo Park visited the region in 1796.) Subsequent writers read a great deal into Leo's description of Timbuctoo, a portrayal which was largely responsible for the city's subsequent exaggerated reputation as a fabulous place of great wealth.

Some scholars believe that Leo left Rome and returned to Tunis where he renounced Christianity and reverted to Islam. The precise date of his death is not known but is thought to be either 1552 or 1560.

## LIBRARIES.

There are several libraries in Mali. The Bibliothèque Nationale du Mali has 18,000 volumes and 2,000 current periodicals. The Bibliothèque Municipale in Bamako has a smaller collection.

The Centre Culturel Français has 27,000 volumes. The United States Information Service Library has some 20,000 volumes. In 1989 it established the Pascal James Imperato Collection, a special collection of volumes written on Mali by Americans. The White Fathers operate a modest library across the street from the Catholic Cathedral. Several research institutes and colleges maintain libraries.

In Timbuctoo, the Centre d'Etudes de Documentation et de Recherches Historiques Ahmad Baba (CEDRAB) contains some 5,000 Arabic books and manuscripts. This center inaugurated a program in the 1970s to collect and preserve manuscripts from the area. *See AHMAD*

## BABA CENTER FOR DOCUMENTATION AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

### LOGO.

A Khasso state on the left bank of the Senegal whose capital, Sabousiré, was eventually destroyed by the French in 1878. Logo was finally conquered in April 1857 by El Hadj Omar, who used Sabousiré as a base of military operations against pro-French forces in the Bambouk. Niamody, the ruler of Logo, was an enemy of Dyoukou Sambala and a vassal of the Tukulor. Niamody actively aided the *emir* of Diomboko in his protracted civil war against Sero. The French calculated that Niamody's action was undermining their political and commercial positions. French attempts in 1875 to bring Niamody under French protection failed. The French were able to prevent Sambala from aiding Sero. The treaty of September 30, 1855 between the French and the Khasso chiefs prohibited the chiefs from exchanging troops across the river. Niamody claimed he was not a party to this convention. French officers in the field firmly believed that Tukulor influence had to be completely eliminated from Khasso to protect French commercial monopolies and to forestall British commercial incursions. Because Logo was on the "French" side of the river (left bank), it served as a constant springboard for possible Tukulor attack. Peaceful attempts having failed to bring Logo over, the French authorized Sambala to invade it, which for his own reasons he was happy to do.

The war went badly for Sambala, however. Eventually, in September 1878, French troops were sent to Médine, and on the 22nd invaded Logo, destroying its capital, Sabousiré. Niamody was killed while crossing the river, and many of his followers fled to Diomboko. Although Logo was now subjugated as the French traders wanted, the Europeans complained bitterly that the invasion had been ruinous to

their trade.

The Logo war soured Tukulor-French relations for some time and gave Amadou, the Tukulor ruler, good reason to suspect French intentions. Once French colonial control of the western Sudan was consolidated in the 1890s, the Khasso states lost their prominence. When the capital of the colony of Haut-Sénégal Niger was moved in 1907 from Kayes to Bamako, they further declined in importance. *See* KHASSO; KONIAKARI.

LOI CADRE.

(Reorganizing Law). A law passed by the French Parliament in 1956 which put into effect considerable French West Africa governmental reforms. Taking effect in 1957, the *loi cadre* greatly increased the powers of elected territorial assemblies and weakened the government-general of AOF.

The law permitted territorial assemblies to form their own cabinets



with executive powers over affairs assigned to them. It provided a major step toward universal suffrage. In a sense, the *loi cadre* moved French West Africa away from unity and toward balkanization, a direction that was furthered by the Constitution of the Fifth French Republic. This constitution superseded the *loi cadre*.

LY, IBRAHIMA (d. February 1, 1989).

Teacher, political activist, and novelist, Ly taught mathematics at the Ecole Normale Supérieure and was active in the US-RDA during the Keita regime. Following the 1968 coup that toppled Modibo Keita he helped organize a strike of teachers and students at the Ecole Normale Supérieure. At an open meeting at the school with military junta members, he defended the Keita regime.

When Malians were asked to vote on a new referendum in 1974, he was active in a group which opposed it, the Regroupement des Patriotes Maliens. This group attacked the military regime of Moussa Traoré in a tract that specifically charged them with embezzling drought-relief funds to build rental houses (rented to diplomatic missions and foreign aid groups at grossly inflated prices) called "les villas de la sécheresse." Ly and others were arrested and eventually sent to the Taoudeni salt mine prison where they remained for several years.

Ly was released from prison in 1978 and in 1981 was allowed to go to Dakar, Senegal, where he taught mathematics. While there he completed two novels, *Toiles d'araignée*, in which he describes prison life, and *Les noctuelles vivent de larmes*, which presents the pathos of released prisoners and their attempts to reconstruct their lives. His first novel was awarded the Senghor Prize in 1985. He was writing a third novel when he died. He was survived by his wife, Medina Tall Ly, a historian.

LY, SEKOU.

Military officer who in 1968 was appointed mayor of Nioro, a town in northwestern Mali. He proved himself an efficient administrator there and later became Mayor of Bamako, distinguishing himself as an excellent administrator. He also served as minister of education and minister of defense. On January 8, 1991, President Traoré appointed him minister of the interior to deal with the growing antigovernment demonstrations in Bamako. On February 21, 1991, he met with prodemocracy group leaders but was unable to reach an accommodation with them. This initiative reflected a softening of Ly's otherwise hard-line position toward the prodemocracy groups as exemplified by his January 18, 1992, order to ADEMA and CNID to cease political activity. Ly continued to pursue Traoré's generally hard-line position toward the prodemocracy groups and their allies students, unionists, and the unemployed. He was arrested on March

26, 1992, following the successful coup d'etat led by Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Touré.

On February 12, 1993, he and two others members of Traoré's government were convicted by the Supreme Court of "premeditated murder, battery and voluntary manslaughter" and sentenced to life in prison. President Traoré was sentenced to death.

M

MACINA. A cercle of the *région* of Ségou covering 6,563 square kilometers along the middle Niger. It has a population of 150,000 people, many of whom are engaged in farming in the Office du Niger. The *arrondissement* of Kolongotomo is an important rice-producing sector of the Office du Niger. In 1993, over 8,000 tons of rice were produced at Kolongotomo, one-fifth of the total production of the Office. The *chef-lieu* of the *cercle* is Ke-Macina, Ke being a Bozo village on the right bank of the Niger and Macina the town built on the left bank in 1921.

MACINA KINGDOM.

See PEUL KINGDOM.

MACOUMBA, MAKANE.

Politician and government employee who came to the Sudan from Senegal. In 1937, in Bamako, Macoumba, and Mamby Sidibé founded the Association des Lettrés, which later became the Foyer du Soudan. In 1937, Macoumba became a member of the Friends of the Popular Union of the Soudan (ARP), founded by a group of Frenchmen who supported the Popular French Government in France. In 1938, the colonial government, with ARP support, established an association called the Maison du Peuple whose purpose was to bring together all of the voluntary associations in the Sudan. By so doing, the

administration was able to rally Popular Front support from the Sudanese elite and also control them. One of the associations placed under the control of the Maison du Peuple was Art et Travail, a drama group. Macoumba was placed in charge of this group. As a member of the ARP committee, he was supposed to see to it that Art et Travail did not venture into political and anti-administration activity. He attacked the governor-general of French West Africa, de Coppet, for alleged favoritism of *métis* in the Sudan. The ensuing controversy created problems for the colonial administration, and Macoumba, charged with attacking the socialist government in France and French West Africa, was forced to resign. He was excluded from the ARP and later fired from his government job. Having occupied such a key position, Macoumba was one of the first Africans in the Sudan to attack the colonial government.

**MADEMBA SY.**

A Tukulor and former postal clerk who was installed as the *fama* (king) of Sansanding by Archinard in 1890 after the conquest of the Ségou Tukulor empire. Sy was in effect an agent of the French administration. The rest of the Ségou kingdom was divided up between Mari Diarra, the legal Bambara heir, and Bodian, a Massassi Bambara chief. The former plotted to assassinate Bodian and the French resident, Captain Underberg; he was arrested by Underberg and shot. Sy was brought in by the French to rule the Tukulor remnant populations in Ségou, and Bodian was to rule the many Massassi Bambara whom the Tukulor had brought into Ségou over several decades.

**MAGE, LIEUTENANT ABDON-EUGENE (1837-1869).**

French military officer and explorer. Born in Paris, Mage entered the naval school in 1850; he sailed the Pacific, the Baltic, and traveled to the Antilles. In 1855, he was promoted to ensign and in 1857 sailed from Brest for Gabon. Eventually, because of fever, he was evacuated to Saint-Louis in Sénégal and participated in campaigns in the Casamance. In 1859, Mage was given the Legion of Honor and in 1861 promoted to lieutenant. At the request of Leon César Faidherbe, he and Dr. Quintin undertook a geographic and diplomatic expedition to the Niger regions around Ségou, which then was part of the Ségou Tukulor empire. In the company of Dr. Quintin, he left Saint-Louis on October 12, 1863, and returned on June 18, 1866, their mission having lasted almost three years. They passed through Médine, Bafoulabé, Koundian, Kita, Kaarta, Banamba, and Nyamina, arriving in Ségou on February 18, 1864. Mage and Quintin remained at Ségou for over two years until May 6, 1866, during which time they were able to obtain Tukulor agreement for a commercial treaty.

Mage had been instructed to obtain permission to build a string of

forts from Médine to Bamako. Faidherbe's Niger River plan included the placing of gunboats on the river in order to spread French influence all the way to Bussa (Nigeria). Mage and Quintin were accredited as ambassadors to the Tukulor empire and authorized to promise Amadou cannons in order to get him to agree to a treaty that would further French aims. It was finally the promise of cannons that induced Amadou to sign the treaty and allow Mage and Quintin to leave, which they did on May 6, 1866, returning to Saint-Louis via Nioro and Médine. Mage became an officer of the Legion of Honor on June 13, 1866.

Mage and Quintin arrived at Ségou on February 18, 1864, 12 days after El Hadj Omar perished near Bandiagara. They were unaware of his death, and Amadou Tall refused to allow them to go east to meet with him; this fact was kept secret as long as possible.

As soon as word spread of Omar's death, provincial commanders and Omar's sons attempted to assert their independence from Amadou. Mage's two-year stay with Amadou, whom he and Quintin accompanied on a number of military expeditions, is in part accounted for by the fact that the empire was then an insecure place in which to travel. Mage and Quintin would have found a return trip extremely dangerous, and Amadou, fearing French reprisals if anything happened to them, kept them at his court for their own security. During this time, Mage and Quintin were exchanging letters with Faidherbe, who finally sent a military escort to accompany them from Nioro to Médine via Koniakary. Mage's book, *Voyage dans le Soudan occidental* (1868), is a masterpiece of its kind, providing detailed descriptions of the Ségou Tukulor empire at a very turbulent period in its history.

After returning to France, he was made captain of the *Gorgone*, a corvette. Mage was sailing from Cadiz to Cherbourg when the ship was hit by severe winds and broken up on the rocks at Brest during the night of December 18 and 19, 1869. Some 120 men, including Mage, perished. What were thought to be his remains were found in late February 1870 near the island of Quessant. Mage's two-year tour of duty on the *Gorgone* had been due to end within a few days. Except for his mission to Ségou and his mission to the Tagant in the Sahara (1859-1860), Mage had spent most of his life at sea.

MAIGA, ATTAHER (b. 1924).

Politician and cabinet minister who served as minister of finance and commerce in the Modibo Keita government from 1964 onwards. Maiga was born in eastern Mali in the *cercle* of Bourem; he was graduated from the Ecole William Ponty. After the coup d'état of 1968, Maiga was held in detention until 1974. In 1974 he was arrested again, this time for antigovernment activities at the time that the new

constitution was being promulgated. He was released in 1977.

MAISON DU PEUPLE.

See AMIS DU RASSEMBLEMENT POPULAIRE DU SOUDAN FRANCAIS (ARP).

MAKHAZAN.

The independent government created by and for the Moroccans in the western Sudan. The Makhazani, as the officials of this government were called, consisted of a hierarchy of officials including: the *basha* (military governor); the *Amin* (responsible for fiscal matters, especially tax collection, and who was responsible to the *khalifa*); the *hakim* (magistrates with limited judicial and executive powers); and the *caids* military leaders of the three divisions of Moroccans Fez, Marrakesh and Sharaqa. There was also an *ulama*, a



group of scholars and learned men who frequently mediated disputes between the three divisions. *See* MOROCCAN INVASION; MOROCCAN OCCUPATION; RUMA.

### MALI EMPIRE.

A famous West African empire that developed from a small kingdom at the upper reaches of the Niger River. Much of the recorded information about Mali comes from Ibn Khaldun, an Arab historian of the fourteenth century, Ibn Batuta, an Arab traveler of the fourteenth century, and Leo Africanus, an Arab traveler of the sixteenth century. Mali began to develop as an empire following the decline of Ghana to the north, and the replacement of the Bambouk gold fields by those of Bouré, located in an area closer to Mali's heartland.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when these events took place, trade routes shifted southward into the savanna, stimulating the growth of political states. The early history of Mali is unclear, there being conflicting and imprecise accounts by both Arab chroniclers and oral traditionalists. Ibn Khaldun provided a detailed chronology of the rulers of Mali from the time of Soundiata Keita (Mari Djata) through the fourteenth century.

Soundiata Keita is the first Mali ruler about whom there is accurate written information. Soundiata was a Keita warrior-prince who was called upon to free the people of Mali from the rule of the king of Sosso, Soumangarou Kanté, which he did. The conquest of Sosso gave Mali access to the trans-Saharan trade routes to the north which, coupled with its already established control of the Bouré gold fields, enabled Mali to expand into the upper Senegal valley.

Following the death of Soundiata (who is also known as Mari Djata), the kings of Mali were referred to as Mansa (king).

Mansa Uli, Soundiata's son, made a pilgrimage to Mecca during the reign of the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, Baybaro (1260-1277). He was succeeded by his two brothers, Wati and Khalifa (See Table 1).

Khalifa was mentally aberrant. After being killed, he was replaced by Mansa Abu Bakr, the son or grandson of one of Soundiata's sisters.

Following Abu Bakr's death, the throne was usurped by a former royal court slave, Sakoura, who proved to be one of Mali's most powerful rulers. Sakoura greatly expanded the territorial domains of Mali and made a pilgrimage to Mecca during the reign of the Sultan El Malek el Nasser of Egypt (1298-1308). He died on his return, allegedly killed on the Horn of Africa by the Danakil. This latter detail is of questionable validity.

The Malian throne then reverted to the descendants of Soundiata.

Mansa Qu, son of Mansa Uli, succeeded Sakoura and was succeeded by his son Mohammed, who reigned for only a year or so.

Mohammed

was followed by Abu Bakr II, said to be the son of a sister of Soundiata. The next emperor, Mansa Moussa, also known as Kankan Moussa, is, in the Arab and Western worlds, the most renowned of Mali's rulers. Yet in oral tradition he is a relatively minor figure compared to Soundiata, who is revered as a god-hero. It is said that Moussa was born near a place called Kankan (not necessarily the Kankan of today); hence his name. Moussa's fame outside of Mali was essentially due to the famous pilgrimage he made to Mecca in 1324 and 1325. His generous gifts in Egypt and his expenditure of gold caused gold to be greatly devalued. Two hundred years later, the Egyptian historian Ibn el Iyas recorded that Moussa's visit was the most significant event of the year 1324. "Rex Melly" appears on the map of Angelo Dulcert (1339), and "Musa Melli" on the famous Catalan map drawn for Charles V by Abraham Cresques of Majorca (1375). It was in Mecca that Mansa Moussa encountered Es Saheli, the Andalusian poet and architect. On his return to Mali across the Sahara, Moussa stopped in Gao to receive the homage of Za Yassiboi, king of Songhay, who had submitted to a Malian army a short time before. Moussa returned to Mali (with Za Yassiboi's two sons Ali Kolon and Souleyman Nor) via Timbuctoo.

Mansa Moussa initiated diplomatic relations with the sultan of Morocco. He was succeeded by his son Magha I, who was deposed by his uncle Souleyman, Mansa Moussa's brother. It was during Souleyman's reign that Ibn Batuta visited Mali.

Ibn Batuta describes a planned coup d'etat by a Djata prince, probably Mari Djata, son of Magha I. The coup was crushed, but after Souleyman's death, civil war broke out between his son and rightful heir, Qasa, and Mari Djata II, son of Magha I, who eventually prevailed; however, Mali's decline had become acutely evident between 1337 and 1341, during the reign of Magha II. Timbuctoo was

sacked by the Mossi, and Gao made initial attempts to rid itself of Mali's hegemony. Mari Djata II was a poor ruler. He depleted the treasury and was generally oppressive. His successor, his son Moussa II, was for the most part a weak king who left the running of state affairs to Mari Djata (a prince of the ruling family). The latter repaired much of the damage caused by the civil war and quelled rebellious provinces, including Songhay. Moussa II was followed by his brother Magha II, who was killed during a coup in which a royal slave, Sandaki, became Mansa of Mali. Mahmud, a descendant of Mansa Qu, wrested power from Sandaki and became Mansa Magha III in 1390.

Ibn Khaldun died in 1406. Following his death, there was no continuous record of what transpired in Mali. Clearly, Mali reached its zenith in the fourteenth century under Mansa Moussa and Mansa Souleyman, who were extremely able rulers. Inept rulers followed,

however. Despite them, the empire continued to flourish, probably because of the effective intervention of powerful and able court officials and the transfer of power from one branch of the Keitas to another. At its peak, Mali extended from Sénégal and Gambia in the west to Gao in the east and from what is now southern Mali to Walata in the north. Whenever there were revolts and civil wars in the center, the outlying provinces either rebelled or else were vulnerable to incursions from neighboring states. Some powerful rulers restored these provinces, but by the end of the fourteenth century, the empire was rapidly disintegrating. Thereafter, Mali remained in the upper Niger as a powerful local state. We know from the *Tarikh es Sudan* that Mali was still a sizable state in the fifteenth century. The Venetian Cadamosto, who visited Gambia and Sénégal in 1455 and the Bissagos islands in 1457, recorded that the people of the Gambia were still the subjects of the ruler of Mali. Portuguese traders on the coast have provided evidence that Mali continued as a powerful state well into the fifteenth century. Joao de Barros, a Portuguese governor on the coast, recorded that in 1481 the Mansa of Mali was Mamadou. He had succeeded his father, Mansa Uli II, who had succeeded his father, Moussa III. Via ambassadors sent to the Portuguese governor at Elmina (in present-day Ghana), Mamadou asked assistance of King John II (1481-1495) in his fight against the incursions of the Mossi. The Portuguese sent two delegations to Mali in the late fifteenth century but did not provide Mali with any military help.

Leo Africanus visited Mali at the beginning of the sixteenth century. He described the Mansa's domains as extending east to Djenné, west to the Fouta Djallon, and south into the forest zone. Thus, Mali was still a kingdom of considerable size. But by 1507, incursions of the Askias of Gao and the development of independent neighboring kingdoms such as Diarra reduced Mali to the size it was when

Soundiata became ruler.

In 1534, Joao de Barros sent Peroz Fernandez as ambassador to Manodou II of Mali in order to protect commerce then threatened by disputes between Mali and neighboring Tekrou. The Songhay were by that time eroding Mali's eastern frontier. In 1542, the Songhay invaded the city of Mali, putting the Mansa to flight. Yet Mali was by no means totally destroyed. In 1599, Mansa Mamadou III tried unsuccessfully to drive the Moroccans out of Djenné. Es Sadi, who traveled extensively in the western Sudan in the seventeenth century, affirms the rise of Bambara power in Ségou. The Bambara, under Biton Coulibaly, gradually conquered much of the territory once belonging to Mali. Between 1667 and 1670, Mansa Mama Magha tried unsuccessfully to conquer the Bambara. Thereafter, Mali rapidly disintegrated and ceased to exist, being replaced by small independent

chiefdoms. The Keitas retreated to Kangaba where they became provincial chiefs.

#### MALI FEDERATION.

A federation that eventually involved only Senegal and the Soudan. It was championed by Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Modibo Keita of the Sudan. The French were averse to the idea and refused to put into place the constitutional elements that would have facilitated a large federation of former colonies. Keita and Senghor were able to get Upper Volta and Dahomey to join them in what was to be a voluntary association. Upper Volta and Dahomey joined in 1959, but France and the Ivory Coast, at French urging, put pressure on these two to withdraw, which they did a few months later. The federation obtained its independence on June 20, 1960. Modibo Keita became premier and head of state. At the same time, Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast set up the Conseil d'Entente, a rival regional grouping consisting of Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Togo, Niger, and Upper Volta. Presidential elections for the Mali Federation were scheduled for August 1960, but the two countries split apart before that. Keita and his following were more radical and extreme on a number of issues than were the Senegalese. These issues included: Africanization of state services, relations with France, and command of the armed forces. Finally, the Sudanese withdrew their support for a Senghor presidency. Things came to a head on August 19, 1960, when the Sudanese mobilized the federal army while the Senegalese, under Mamadou Dia, later prime minister of Senegal, did the same with the gendarmerie. The latter rapidly got control of the situation in Dakar, where the French commander of the gendarmerie trapped the Sudanese commander and sent the Sudanese leaders off on a sealed train to the Sudan on August 22, 1960. The Senegalese territorial assembly met and voted for independence. France recognized Senegal independence, and a month

later, on September 22, 1960, the Sudanese voted their own independence as the Republic of Mali. Mali sealed its border with Senegal for almost three years and suspended the Dakar-Bamako rail line. Communications between the two countries were also severed by Mali. All of this caused severe economic repercussions for both countries. But even under this hardship, Mali forged ahead and built a paved road system leading south to the Ivory Coast, thus providing itself with another outlet to the sea.

#### MALI FRANC RIOT.

Riot which occurred in Bamako, on July 20, 1962, after Mali withdrew from the Communauté Financière Africaine (CFA) and issued its own nonconvertible currency, the Mali franc. Mali's merchants, who trade heavily with the markets of neighboring states, rioted in protest over a measure which effectively de-



stroyed large private enterprise. After this riot, the government announced the arrest of Fily Dabo Sissoko and two of his associates, accusing them of provoking the riot. They and 92 others were tried by a popular tribunal.

MALI GOVERNMENT.

See GOVERNMENT OF MALI.

MALIAN FRANC.

See FRANC, MALI.

MALIKITE LAW.

A body of Islamic law that is widely accepted in Mali and other Moslem areas of West Africa. The law is based on the judicial writings of Ibn el Malik of Medina (d. 795) and his school.

MALINKE.

A Manding people of western Mali who number about 300,000. Also known as the Maninka and Mandinka, the Malinké are the descendants of the famous Mali empire. Their homeland is called the Malinkala. They are primarily sedentary agriculturists, and many are still strongly animist. Although the emperors of Mali were Moslem, Islam was the court religion and not the religion of the great masses of people.

MAMADOU LAMINE DRAME (c. 1830-1887).

A Soninké religious cleric who led a movement of nationalism among the Soninké of the upper Senegal in present-day Mali, Senegal, and Guinea. Son of a Moslem cleric, he was born in a village near Kayes in present Mali. Mamadou Lamine's *jihad* was against both El Hadj Omar Tall and the French. Mamadou Lamine was a soldier in El Hadj Omar's army. In 1864, when the latter was killed near Bandiagara by the Peul, Mamadou Lamine went on the pilgrimage to Mecca via

Niger, Chad, and the Sudan, reaching Wadai on the Nile. There he came into contact with the Islamic Sanusiya sect that was puritanical, anti-Christian and anti-animist. He quickly adopted the eleven-beaded Sanusiya rosary and felt authorized to wage a *jihad*. Returning via Timbuctoo and Macina, he arrived at Ségou, at that time ruled by El Hadj Omar's son, Amadou Tall. Not surprisingly, he came into conflict with the latter, who detained him in Ségou (1878? to 1885?). Mamadou Lamine then returned to Bundu in the upper Senegal area. He claimed that he had been authorized by the *Mahdi* in Khartoum, who named him Khalif, a deputy of the *Mahdi* among the Soninké, Bambara, and other peoples of the western Sudan. Since Amadou Tall ruled much of this area, this announcement was tantamount to a declaration of war on his Ségou Tukulor empire and its vassals. He quickly conquered the Gaye part of the old Gajaga kingdom, and in 1886 successfully fought the French, besieging them at Bakel. In order to do

so, he had to temporarily come to terms with Samory. Gallieni also temporarily allied himself with Amadou Tall, Mamadou Lamine's old enemy.

In 1887, Joseph Gallieni set out to dispose of Mamadou Lamine. From his capital at Dianna on the upper Gambia, Lamine ruled a sizable portion of the Senegambia. On December 9, 1887, Mamadou Lamine and his followers, pursued by a sizable French force, took refuge in the village of N'Goga-Soukata, some two kilometers from the Gambia. During the ensuing battle, he was seriously wounded from a sword blow. He was carried on a stretcher to the French camp at Toubakouta, and died en route. His head was cut off by a griot (minstrel) and carried back to the French camp. Mamadou Lamine's career was brief, but truly spectacular. The Soninké nationalist movement died with him.

#### MANDING.

A term which covers a number of West African peoples, including the Malinké, Bambara, Djula, Kassonke, and Voi, who speak dialects of the same language and share related cultures. The Manding heartland is the upper Niger along the Mali-Guinea border and was the center of the ancient Mali empire.

#### MANINKA.

*See* MALINKÉ.

#### MANSA MOUSSA.

*See* KANKAN MOUSSA.

#### MARA, LT. COL. JOSEPH (b. 1935).

A military officer who, prior to the coup d'etat of 1968, was an instructor at the Kati Inter-Service military school. In 1968, Mara became a member of the Military Committee of National Liberation

(CMLN). In 1969, he was appointed mayor of Kati and served as minister of justice from September 10, 1970 until January 2, 1979, when he was arrested and charged with corruption while serving as president of a national commission investigating the corruption of CMLN members who had been arrested in 1978. On March 8, 1979, Mara was sentenced to 20 years of hard labor by the State Security Court in Timbuctoo. Other members of the CMLN Doukara, Bagayoko, and Sissokowere also sentenced. Mara has been held in detention since that time.

#### MARABOUT.

A French term adopted from the Arabic *morabit*, meaning scholar. In North Africa the term is used to designate "saints" of religious orders. In Mali today, it is used to designate any cleric, regardless of scholarly training. See ALFA; ULAMA; IMAM.

#### MARI DIARRA.

The last of the Diarra dynasty who was made *fama* of Ségou by the French on April 6, 1890. Mari Diarra had allied him-

self with the French against the Tukolor in the hope of recovering the Ségou kingdom. This aim clearly conflicted with Archinard's aim of complete colonial annexation. Archinard's plan was to divide Ségou into three regions: Mari Diarra would rule Ségou; Bodian, a Massassi prince, would rule Nango; and Mademba Sy, a Tukolor, would rule Sansading.

Archinard claimed that Bodian was in Ségou to rule the sizable population of Massassi who had been brought there by El Hadj Omar and who had migrated there during the time of the Tukolor empire. Similarly, Mademba Sy was installed at Sansading to rule the Tukolor. Mari Diarra could not accept these conditions, yet they were crucial to French colonial ambitions. Diarra and his closest associates were arrested by Captain Underberg (the resident at Ségou) and Lieutenant Spitzer on May 29, 1890, on the pretext that they were plotting to kill Bodian and the two Frenchmen. The prisoners were summarily shot, and Bodian was given Diarra's territory.

Archinard no doubt had reasons to believe that Mari Diarra might kill Underberg, Spitzer, and Bodian. However, a number of scholars believe that the alleged plot was merely a pretext for removing Mari Diarra, a man who clearly was not going to be the instrument of French policy that Bodian and Mademba Sy had been. Diarra's execution triggered widespread rebellion in the Bambara country. See DIARRA DYNASTY; SEGOU KINGDOM.

## MARKA.

A term that is used often as a synonym for Sarakolé and Soninké, but which in Mali is employed often to describe a group of people who live in the *région* of Ségou. The Marka in this area are in effect the descendants of Soninké who arrived in the *région* well before the Bambara. It is probable that they came out of the west from the

ancient Ghana empire. The Marka assimilated Bambara customs long ago and speak Bambara. They have been Islamized for several centuries, in contrast to the animist Bambara among whom they live. The Marka are farmers and traders. In recent years, many have migrated to Bamako and the coast.

#### MARKALA.

A town of 7,000 located on the right bank of the Niger in the *cercle* of Ségou. Markala is the site of a bridge and a dam that irrigates the Office du Niger. A small shipyard is located in Markala.

#### MASSA.

King of Kaarta 1650-1710. He was a descendant of the senior line of Coulibalys, the junior line having assumed power in Ségou. Massa was a contemporary of Biton Coulibaly's father and grandfather, and greatly expanded the power of the first Kaarta kingdom. He was succeeded by his son Benefali in 1710. The kings of Kaarta were

his descendants, hence the name Massassi dynasty. *See* KAARTA KINGDOM; TABLE 4.

MASSASSI DYNASTY.

*See* KAARTA KINGDOM.

MAURE.

In Mali, a group of Berber nomads who number about 60,000. The Maure are much more numerous in neighboring Mauritania. They extend from Nioro in the west through Nioro, Goundam, Timbuctoo, Bourem, Gao, Ansongo, and Menaka. They are primarily pastoralists, raising herds of goats, sheep, camels, and, to a lesser extent, cattle. Some are traders and farmers; certain groups transport goods on donkeys. The Maure were seriously afflicted by the droughts of the 1970s and 1980s.

MEDINE.

A small village 12 kilometers from the town of Kayes on the Sénégal River. In 1855, Faidherbe established a fort at Médine, launching France's acquisition of most of present-day Mali. In 1857, Médine was successfully defended by Paul Holle and his men against El Hadj Omar. During the next 40 years, Médine became an important staging point for exploratory missions and military expeditions. With the growth of Kayes, it was eventually abandoned. The ruins of the fort can still be seen. *See* FAIDHERBE; HOLLE; KHASSO.

MEDINE, SEIGE OF.

*See* MÉDINE; FAIDHERBE; HOLLE.

MENAKA.

A *cercle* of the Gao *région* bordering on Niger. Most of Menaka's 50,000 inhabitants are Taureg and Peul nomads. Menaka is divided into four *arrondissements*, of which Anderamboukane is one of the

most important. *See* ANDERAMBOUKANE.

#### METIS (METISSE).

An individual of mixed European and African heritage. Their political importance in what is now Mali was modest compared to their power in neighboring Sénégal, where they constituted a local elite in coastal communes. Also, their numbers in Mali were never great compared to Sénégal, whose centuries-old trading activities with Europe led to many mixed marriages between native women and male traders. In Mali, the *métis* have a European cultural reference and are part of the larger African elite. *See* HABITANT.

#### MIGRATION.

Within Mali and its neighboring states there are longstanding seasonal migration patterns for pastoralists such as the Tuareg and Peul. A more extensive type of migration, however, is that of rural agricultural populations to the towns and capital of Mali and to the cash economies of the coast. Many young men, seeking menial



jobs, migrate into Bamako during the dry, post-harvest season (January through May). These seasonal workers are called *barani*. Other people, especially those from Ségou, Bamako, and Bougouni, migrate to the Ivory Coast and Ghana for two to three years before returning home for a short period of time.

In northwestern Mali, there has been a massive exodus of Sarakolé peoples from Nioro, Kayes, and Yelimané. Many have gone to France, where they live under poor and crowded conditions while working at low-paying jobs. A great many of these migrants are men. Most towns, and the city of Bamako, are unable to absorb newcomers and provide them with employment opportunities and services. As a consequence, many migrate to the Ivory Coast, whose economy provides more plentiful job openings. During the late 1980s significant numbers of Malian males began to migrate to the United States, overstaying their visas as illegal immigrants. In 1994, several hundred were working as "gypsy" cab drivers in New York City.

#### MILICE POPULAIRE.

An armed auxiliary of the Union Soudanaise-RDA originally formed in September 1960 to enforce party discipline. It was reactivated in August 1967 during the cultural revolution, when its numbers were enlarged and its functions expanded.

MINIANKA. An ethnic group in southeastern Mali related to the Senufo. The Minianka are found in the *cercles* of Koutiala and Yorosso, where they are subsistence farmers. In recent years they have grown cotton as a cash crop in Koutiala. For the most part, the Minianka are animists, and like the Bobo have resisted Islam.

#### MINIANKALA.

A traditional area in southeastern Mali in the *cercles* of San and Koutiala. This area is inhabited by the Minianka, a northern offshoot

of the Senufo. Literally translated, Miniankala means "place of the Minianka."

#### MISE EN VALEUR.

A term employed in Mali today to mean "development" or a "realization of potential." Wide usage of the term dates to 1923 when the former colonial minister of France, Albert Sarraut, established the French colonial policy of planned economic development. Initially, the term implied the respective roles of raw materials from the colonies and manufacturing for France. The goal of this policy was to set up a close economic interdependence between France and its African colonies.

#### MITHQAL.

Also known as Mithkal, a weight introduced into the western Sudan by Arabs trading in gold. Mithqals varied in value. At the

time of Barth's visit to Timbuctoo in the years 1853 to 1854, the Timbuctoo mithqal contained 96 grains of wheat and was worth from 3,000 to 4,000 cowrie shells. Barth found that mithqals in other areas, such as Agades and Hausaland, had other values. *See* BARTH; GOLD TRADE.

MOHAMMED.

*See* ASKIA DAOUD; SONNI ALI BER.

MOHAMMED EL KUNTI (Sidi el Mokhtar Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abi Bakr el Kunti) (1729-1811).

A Kunta Islamic scholar who united the Berbers of the Middle Niger through skillful diplomacy. He achieved this through his enormous prestige as a theologian and scholar of the Qadiriya brotherhood. He brought the Tuareg under his religious authority. He filled a power vacuum in this part of the western Sudan and revived waning Islamic scholarship through his prolific writings and preaching.

MOHAMMED MUNTAGA TALL.

Became *Wazir* of Kaarta in 1874 after Ahmadou Tall appointed him to the position following the civil wars of 1870 to 1874. Muntaga supported Amadou not so much out of loyalty but because he calculated that his best interests lay with Amadou and not with the opposing faction led by Abibu and Moktar.

Once Abibu and Moktar had been defeated and brought into line, Muntaga saw an opportunity for challenging Amadou's rule. In 1880, Muntaga leaked a rumor that Amadou planned to assassinate him and some of his chiefs. The release of this rumor coincided with the timing of the Gallieni mission to Ségou. The strategy enabled Muntaga to win over those of his *talibes* who still supported Amadou. By 1882, Muntaga sought allies from among his brothers and other Tukulor governors to flight Amadou. By 1883, it was widely known

that he had reached an understanding with Tijani in Macina and Aguibu in Dirguiray. In 1884, Amadou invaded Kaarta, and the resulting civil war lasted until the end of 1885. Madani, Amadou's son, ruled in Ségou. Muntaga was finally killed in September 1885, and his forces were disbanded. The French did all they could to prolong the conflict and advised the Bambara not to ally themselves with Muntaga. *See* AMADOU TALL; EL HADJ OMAR TALL.

MOHAMMED TOURE.

*See* ASKIA MOHAMMED.

MOKTAR TALL.

The son of El Hadj Omar Tall and his wife, Aissatu, daughter of Mohammed Bello of Sokoto, and full brother of Abibu Tall. His father made him *emir* of Diomboko, and after his father's

death, he ruled from Koniakari. Moktar and his brother Abibu opposed the attempts of their half-brother, Amadou Tall (who was the first son of El Hadj Omar), to impose supremacy over the Tukulor domains. This opposition led to civil wars fought in Kaarta between Amadou on one side and Abibu and Moktar on the other. During the first phase of these wars, Moktar was captured by Amadou, chained, and in 1871 sent to Ségou as a prisoner. Abibu then kept Amadou's mother captive at Dinkiray. In 1872, Amadou finally released Moktar, who soon joined forces with Abibu again and challenged Amadou militarily. Amadou defeated them in 1874. *See* SEGOU TUKULOR EMPIRE; EL HADJ OMAR TALL; AMADOU TALL.

#### MONSON DIARRA.

A son of N'Golo Diarra who successfully challenged the succession to the throne of his older brother Nianankoro. The latter used Ségou-Koro as his base, while Makoro (as Monson was then called) used Ségou-Sikoro. The civil war between the two brothers was complicated by the entry of Dessé Koro Coulibaly, king of Kaarta on the side of Nianankoro. Eventually, Nianankoro was captured by Monson's forces and imprisoned; oral tradition claims he was starved to death. Dessé Koro's troops never engaged in action, and Dessé Koro told Monson, after Nianankoro's defeat, that he did not intend to support the latter. Sensing that Monson's forces had been weakened by the war, Dessé Koro proposed that Ségou become his vassal. Monson responded by repulsing Dessé Koro and invading Kaarta. Monson's army laid waste much of Kaarta, dislodged Dessé Koro from his capital of Guemou, and pursued Dessé Koro to Guidingouma, the capital of Guidimaka. Unable to sustain his army in the field, and continuously ambushed, Monson returned to Ségou after a two-month campaign.

Mungo Park, the Scottish explorer, had been welcomed by Dessé

Koro in Guemou only four days before Monson attacked it on February 22, 1796. On July 20, 1796, Park arrived on the banks of the Niger across from Ségou. Monson refused to receive him or allow him to go farther, depriving future generations of a written description of himself. He did, however, send Park a gift of 5,000 cowrie shells. Park concluded that Monson refused to receive him out of concern over agitating the Moslem Moorish traders in Ségou, who would have been displeased by the king receiving a Christian. In 1803, Monson pillaged Timbuctoo because the city had refused to send its annual tribute. He died at Sirakoro near Ségou-Sikoro in 1808 and was succeeded by his son Da Monson. Among Monson's principal achievements were the extension of Ségou's control over the Kaarta kingdom and the territorial extension of the kingdom to its greatest degree. Monson reaffirmed the hereditary succession that his father

N'Golo had established. See SEGOU KINGDOM; N'GOLO DIARRA; MUNGO PARK; TABLE 3.

MONTEIL, COL. P.L.

French military officer and explorer. From 1890 to 1892, he traveled from Saint-Louis, Sénégal, to Tripoli, Libya. He left Ségou on December 23, 1890, and went on to San where he signed a treaty. He then traveled to Koutiala, Kinian, and Sikasso. His travels took him through the modern states of Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, and Libya.

MOPTI.

(1) An important *région* in central Mali covering 80,000 square kilometers and encompassing most of the inland delta of the Niger. Mopti is divided into eight *cercles*: Mopti, Tenenkou, Djenné, Bandiagara, Koro, Bankass, Youvarou, and Douentza. With a population of 1,300,000, Mopti is the most populous of Mali's seven *régions*. It has an extremely diverse economy based on agriculture, fishing, and livestock raising; among the crops grown are rice, millet, onions, fonio, manioc, and peanuts. The *région* produces approximately 125,000 tons of fish annually; Mopti exports wool, animal hides, and livestock. A large proportion of Mali's national herds of cattle, goats, and sheep are found in the *région*. The population is made up of Dogon, Peul, Bambara, Bozo, Bobo, Marka, Songhay, and Tukulor.

During the 1977 administrative reforms, the *cercle* of Niafunké, once part of the Mopti *région*, was divided in two: Niafunké and Youvarou. The latter had been an *arrondissement* of the former. The *arrondissements* of Youvarou and Sa were detached from Niafunké, and, along with several other newly created *arrondissements*, made into a new *cercle*, Youvarou, part of the Mopti *région*. The remainder

of Niafunké became part of the Timbuctoo *région*.

(2) A *cercle* of 9,500 square kilometers subdivided into 9 *arrondissements*. It is a center of livestock production; Mali's fishing industry is located there. The *cercle* has a population of 250,000, including those people living in the town of Mopti.

(3) A city of 60,000 people, capital of the *région* and *chef-lieu* of the *cercle*. After Bamako, Mopti is the most important city in the country. It is situated on three small islands in the flood plains of the inland delta and has the highest population density in the country. Mopti (pronounced Mohti) was a small fishing village when Archinard obtained its submission in 1893. In 1902, a French couple, the Simones, settled there to trade in egret feathers and crocodile skins. A colonial administrator was installed in Mopti in 1905, and in 1912, French trading companies arrived. Today, the city is the commercial capital of central and eastern Mali.



## MOROCCAN INVASION.

In 1578, Ahmed el Mansur became Sultan of Morocco and engaged in an expansionist policy as a means of fulfilling his pretensions to the universal caliphate. His designs included the acquisition of Songhay, not the least of his reasons being Songhay's wealth of gold. In a provocative move, el Mansur demanded that Askia Daoud pay a tax on all loads of salt leaving the Taghaza mines for Songhay. Such provocation over Taghaza had previously been initiated by the Moroccans. El Mansur's request ostensibly sprang from his desire to acquire military financing so that his armies could fight Christians. The Askia sidestepped the issue by sending el Mansur a gift of 10,000 *mithqals* of gold. El Mansur, however, was not deterred. He moved ahead with the annexation of the Sus region and invaded and conquered the oases of Touat and Gurara. A year prior to the conquest of Touat and Gurara, el Mansur succeeded in having the ruler of Bornu, to the east of Songhay, formally recognize his claim to the universal caliphate. This maneuver completed the encirclement of Songhay and strengthened el Mansur's hand against the Ottomans who controlled the remainder of North Africa. The stage was now set for the physical annexation of Songhay.

Moroccan presence in Touat constituted a serious threat to trade in Songhay because Touat was the entrepôt for all the major trade routes to North Africa. From Touat, the Moroccans were able to spy on Songhay. In 1585, during the reign of Askia El Hadj Mohammed, the Moroccans occupied Taghaza with 200 soldiers. The Songhay opened mines at Taoudeni but later returned to Taghaza when the Moroccans withdrew. Taghaza was permanently abandoned in 1596.

One of el Mansur's spies returned to Songhay in April 1589, reporting on the civil war there. This war had resulted in the dispersal and decimation of the western provincial armies. El Mansur correctly

concluded that the time was ripe to invade Songhay and bring the Niger Bend and the salt sources and gold dust under his control. What he failed to realize was that it was impossible to rule from faraway Morocco for any extended period of time.

From December 1589 to January 1590, el Mansur wrote to Askia Ishaq II that he planned to tax each load of salt leaving Taghaza at one *mithqal* of gold. He also told Ishaq II that his "brother" had arrived in Morocco asking for help against the Askia. Along with spears and two iron horseshoes, Ishaq II sent back a sharp reply. El Mansur viewed this gesture as a gross insult and used it as persuasive evidence before his council that Songhay must be invaded.

In Morocco, there clearly was opposition to the plan. The Moroccan Islamic scholars were quite indignant over the idea of invading a fellow Moslem state. But el Mansur was able to convince most of them that a small mobile army equipped with muskets could easily

overcome the spears and bows and arrows of Songhay's army of 40,000.

On October 16, 1590, el Mansur turned over command of 4,000 men and 600 support staff to Djouder, a young Spanish eunuch from Las Cuevas who was one of his favorites. In early November, Djouder left for the Dra'a valley with 8,000 camels, 1,000 pack horses, guns, gun powder, and 10 mortars that fired stone balls. On December 22, 1590, Djouder and his force entered the Sahara, traveling during what is still the coolest season of the year. Within two months they had arrived on the banks of the Niger at Karabara, west of the present-day village of Bamba. After camping for a while, they marched toward Gao, meeting the Songhay army of 40,000 at Tankondibo near Tondibi, 35 miles north of Gao. The Askia Ishaq II was well aware of the descent of the Moroccans through the desert. Although the Maghsharen Tuareg would have been capable of severely crippling the Moroccan forces, the recent civil war had alienated them.

The Moroccans kept their backs to the Niger and were clearly well disciplined. Many of them were Andalusian and European renegades. Ishaq drove herds of cattle into the Moroccans before his advancing troops, but this strategy failed. The Songhay army had been hurriedly assembled. Absent were the many experienced warriors who had been killed in the recent civil war. It appears that the Songhay panicked before the guns and ran away. There were very few casualties on either side. The Songhay fled, and the Askia, after returning to Gao, fled across to the right side of the river with most of the inhabitants, leaving only the *khatib* (scribe) and the scholars behind. Djouder entered Gao several days later. There he received a peace offer from Ishaq that included recognition of Moroccan supremacy as well as a large annual tribute in return for military withdrawal. Djouder immediately communicated this offer to el Mansur in Marrakesh and

advised Ishaq to send a preliminary payment of 1,000 slaves and 100,000 *mithqal* of gold to Morocco. This diplomatic overture complied with, Ishaq advised Djouder to move to Timbuctoo, fully expecting an eventual withdrawal. After spending 17 days in Gao, Djouder moved on to Timbuctoo, arriving there on May 30, 1591.

Although they were initially welcomed in Timbuctoo, Djouder and his men soon came into conflict with the city's religious scholars and citizens. In part, this was due to Djouder's seizure, for use by his troops, of the quarter of the city belonging to the Ghadames merchants and the imposition of a hefty tax on the city's merchants. The doors of the houses and many of the city's trees were cut down to make boats for transporting the Moroccan troops. The boats then had to be dragged by the populace to the river, several miles distant. El Mansur was furious over Djouder's letter concerning Ishaq II and preliminary

tribute; in response, he sent Mahmoud bin Zergoun to Songhay as Djouder's replacement. Mahmoud arrived in Timbuctoo on August 17, 1591. His orders were to destroy the Songhay army, and on September 9, 1591, he left Timbuctoo with Djouder and his troops to engage Ishaq, which they did near Zanzan near Bamba five weeks later. Again, the Songhay were routed. Ishaq was then deposed by the Songhay and replaced by his brother Mohammed Gao, who was soon captured by the Moroccans and executed. The Songhay then rallied around Askia Nouh, who retreated to the Dendi where he was free of Moroccan domination; however, battles between Nouh and Mahmoud continued for two years. Djouder was installed as governor of Gao by Mahmoud who continued his military campaigns against the Tuareg, Songhay, and Peul.

The consensus of scholars is that the Moroccan invasion of Songhay effectively destroyed the literate civilization of the western Sudan. Although some pro-Arab scholars dispute this, the evidence is overwhelming. After the fall of Songhay, a state of insecurity prevailed because of the disappearance of Songhay administration. Trade and commerce suffered badly. The Moroccans succeeded in controlling only a small portion of the old Songhay empire. The rest broke up into fractious states and chiefdoms. The literati of Timbuctoo were harassed, imprisoned, exiled, or killed measures which effectively destroyed both Timbuctoo's intellectual life and its status as a center of Islamic learning. *See* MOROCCAN OCCUPATION; MOROCCAN INVASION ARMY; RUMA; SONGHAY EMPIRE; AHMAD BABA; DJOUDER.

#### MOROCCAN INVASION ARMY.

The invasion force sent by el Mansur to Songhay was headed by a blue-eyed Spanish eunuch, Djouder, who had been captured as a child and raised in the palace at Marrakesh. Although Djouder was an

experienced tax collector with excellent administrative skills, he had no real military training. For the purpose of the expedition, he was given the title of *pasha* and had under his command ten *caids*, four of whom were European captives individuals who had voluntarily or involuntarily converted to Islam.

The army comprised probably 4,000 carefully selected troops, 2,000 of whom were infantry armed with the arquebus. A thousand of the troops were Andalusians, Spanish Moors who had migrated to Morocco. The other half consisted of European captives, most of them too poor to buy their freedom. There were 500 mounted arquebusiers (most of whom were European captives) and 1,500 light cavalry armed with lances (all Moors). There were six large cannons and several smaller ones, manned mostly by European gunners who frequently worked for hire with the Shereefian army. In addition, there

were 70 Christian musketeers, all prisoners of war. Djouder had asked for 200 Christian musketeers, probably for use as bodyguards and because of their greater discipline. The official language of the invasion army was Spanish. The support staff consisted of 1,600 men. There were 8,000 camels, 1,000 pack horses, 180 tents, 31,000 pounds of gunpowder, 31,000 pounds of lead shot, and pitch, ropes, spades, etc. Wheat, oats, and pressed dates were carried. No one knows how many men and animals survived the desert crossing. Most of the survivors of both the crossing and the war in the western Sudan eventually returned to Morocco, but there is no information on their numbers. The children they fathered with Sudanese women became part of the *Ruma* class in Timbuctoo. See MOROCCAN INVASION; MOROCCAN OCCUPATION; DJOUDER.

#### MOROCCAN OCCUPATION.

The period of Moroccan domination of the Niger Bend is frequently referred to as the Pashalik. First under pashas sent by Morocco and later under those elected locally in Timbuctoo, the pashalik lasted until 1833 when the Peul of Macina defeated the last pasha, Uthman, at Diré. The Moroccan soldiery that invaded Songhay were known as *Ruma*, locally transformed into *Arma*. The initial contingents, consisting of European mercenaries and renegades, eventually returned to Morocco with Djouder in 1599 and were replaced by Berbers. Having conquered the political capital (Gao), the intellectual capital (Timbuctoo), and the commercial capital (Djenné) of Songhay, the *Ruma* then attempted to impose Moroccan rule over the entire empire. This proved impossible, and their range was limited to garrison presence along the Niger River from Djenné to south of Gao.

The remainder of Songhay was left open to attack by a host of fractious states and groups. Because the intellectual patriciate of Timbuctoo constituted a state within a state, the *Ruma* eliminated

them early on, primarily through exile to Morocco in 1594. As divided as the Songhay remained, it was not until 1646, 50 years after the invasion, that the *Ruma* were finally able to intervene in the internal affairs of Dendi, the place where the Songhay political and military leadership had retreated.

The basis of *Ruma* power was military strength. Consequently, they were never able to develop civil administrative structures that might have otherwise made the region prosperous. The position of pasha was itself a precarious one because those who held the title were forced to deal with rival groups among the *Ruma* who were allied by common ethnic, tribal, and geographic origins. The pashas did make attempts at indirect rule, such as naming Songhay askias in Timbuctoo. But they were unable to protect merchants from pillage or ordinary citi-



zens from being victimized, even by people from their own ranks. Support from Morocco proved ephemeral because of the death of El Mansur in 1603 and the civil war among his sons that lasted until 1609 and resulted in two kingdoms, Fez and Marrakesh. The affinity of the *Ruma* in Timbuctoo for Marrakesh is explained not only by geography but also by the fact that most of the *Ruma* were Guish tribesmen from southern Morocco.

The last pasha to come from Morocco was Mahmoud Longo, who arrived in 1604 with 300 men. Fourteen years later, in 1618, the sultan of Marrakesh, Moulay Zidan, sent 500 Andalusians and mercenaries to Timbuctoo. Although the dominant elements of the *Ruma* were allied to Marrakesh, there were sizable pro-Fez factions. Pashas were elected and deposed with great frequency. By 1646, the pashas had satisfactorily neutralized the Songhay of Dendi, now themselves reduced to small, fratricidal groups. In that year the *Ruma* chose Ahmad bin Ali as pasha, the first pasha born in the western Sudan. Although he ruled for only 13 weeks, Ahmad bin Ali represented the dawn of a new group of indigenous pashas who had no firsthand knowledge of Morocco. By 1660, the name of the sultan of Marrakesh was no longer invoked at Friday prayers in the mosque at Timbuctoo. *Ruma* power soon retreated from the west as the Bambara and Peul developed powerful states. Incessant wars, uneasy truces, shifting alliances, short-lived victories, and the constant threat of the Tuareg eventually reduced the *Ruma* range of power to the stretch of Niger between Timbuctoo and Gao.

In 1737, the *Ruma* were conclusively defeated at Toya by the Tuareg. They lost about 350 men and, in an odd twist of history, their battered remnants were safely led back to Timbuctoo by a descendant of Askia Ishaq II. Thereafter, the Tuareg held control of the Niger Bend, albeit with *Ruma* consent and according to the terms of a truce. Drought,

famine, and epidemics ravaged the Niger Bend during the remainder of the eighteenth century. In 1775, the title pasha disappeared among the *Ruma*, who then controlled little but the city of Timbuctoo. The word was reinstated in 1795 and persisted until 1833, when the *Ruma* were defeated at Diré by the Peul. See MAKHAZAN; MOROCCAN INVASION; MOROCCAN INVASION ARMY; TIMBUCTOO.

#### MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE DE L'AZAOUAD (MPA).

A major Tuareg rebel group formed in 1989 whose aim was autonomy for this ethnic group. The MPA was invited to become a member of the CTSP in April 1991 so as to insure Tuareg representation in the transitional government. A group of MPA dissidents formed a splinter group called the Front de Libération de l'Aire et de l'Azaouad (FLAA) and

were responsible for a number of military attacks on government posts in 1991-1992. Although the MPA originally demanded independence for the Azaouad, it later agreed to compromise and signed the national pact that laid the basis for ending the rebellion. The leaders of the MPA include Iyad Ag Ghali, Cheick Ag Baye, and Cherif Ag Mohammed. *See* IYAD AG GHALI; TUAREG REVOLT OF 1990-1992.

#### MOUVEMENTS ET FRONTS UNIFIES DE L'AZAOUAD (MFUA).

The Tuareg umbrella organization was first known as the Front Unifié Pour La Defense de L'Azaouad (FUDA) and finally as Front Pour La Libération de L'Azaouad (FLA). However, it often refers to itself as MFUA.

#### MOVEMENT SOCIALISTE POUR LA DEFENSE DES INTERTS DU SOUDAN (MSDIS).

A short-lived electoral committee established in 1955 to compete in the French National Assembly elections.

#### MUSEUM.

The Musée Nationale in Bamako is one of the most modern and sophisticated in West Africa. In the early 1980s, the museum was installed in a complex of stone and stucco buildings near the Jardin Zoologique where the previous museum had stood. The museum's ongoing research and exhibitions have benefited from outside assistance. Among its donors, the Ford Foundation has provided funds to set up a photography unit and to carry out research on traditional textiles. The University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) has provided funds and technical advice through its Museum of Cultural History for a collaborative textiles documentation and collection project. The collaborative project began in 1987. The museum

currently has a collection of 4,000 pieces and a library of 1,500 volumes. It exhibits not only objects from past civilizations but also those from contemporary society. Its professional staff are involved in a variety of field research projects. *See* ARCHIVES; LIBRARIES.

## N

### NANGO, TREATY OF.

A treaty concluded between Amadou Tall and the French on November 3, 1880, and signed on March 10, 1881, at Nango, near Ségou. The treaty was negotiated for the French by Gallieni, whom Amadou had been holding under house arrest for close to nine months. Gallieni seems to have written many drafts of the treaty, and thus several different versions were submitted to the French government. The Arabic version to which Amadou agreed was substantially different in many of its provisions from the French ver-

sions. In addition, Amadou attached a letter in Arabic to his version of the treaty requiring that the French destroy their forts at Kita and Bafoulabé, thereby recognizing his authority over the Senegambia. The treaty gave the French a virtual protectorate over Amadou's domains and thus blocked a feared British penetration of the region. Amadou was awarded the large quantities of arms and ammunition that he needed to put down internal revolts in his empire and to assert his supremacy over his rival Tukulor governors and *emirs*.

The French government refused to ratify the treaty. The government feared that arming Amadou would lead to a strong Tukulor empire, which would ultimately be inimical to French colonial expansion in the region. The French wanted and needed a weak and divided Tukulor empire. Although Gallieni claimed that the treaty gave the French protectorate rights over the Niger from its headwaters to Timbuctoo, the facts speak for themselves-the treaty really achieved nothing. From another perspective, the Gallieni mission to Nango irritated the colonial ministry in Paris because it represented an act of insubordination by Governor Brière de l'Isle, who had been consistently violating his instructions in order to carry out his own program of colonial expansion.

#### NARA.

A *cercle* in northwestern Mali in the *région* of Koulikoro. Nara covers 30,000 square kilometers, has a population of 150,000, and is subdivided into six *arrondissements*, the most important of which are Central, Dilly, Mourdiah, and Ballé. The town of Nara, with a population of 3,300, is the *chef-lieu*. The *cercle* is inhabited by Peul, Bambara, Maure, and Sarakolé peoples. It is an area of subsistence farming and livestock raising.

#### NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

A legislative body which came into existence in 1960 with Mali's independence. The national assembly is a direct descendant of the territorial assembly which had been established in the Sudan before independence. Delegates were elected for five-year terms. From 1960 to 1968, the president of Mali's national assembly was Mahamane Alassane Haidara. The assembly's total strength numbered 78; the last elections were held in 1964. On January 28, 1968, the National Assembly dissolved itself.

It was reconstituted according to the terms of the Constitution of 1974. Elections were held on June 19, 1979; 82 members were elected. Although the 1974 constitution stipulated the terms of office in the assembly to be four years, this was changed to three years in September 1981 by a new amendment to the constitution. Elections were again held in 1982, 1985 and 1988; 82 members were elected each time. On March 26, 1991, the National Assembly was dissolved

following the coup d'etat which overthrew President Moussa Traoré. The Constitution of 1992 provides for a National Assembly whose deputies are elected for five years. A first round of legislative elections was held on February 23, 1992, and a second one on March 8. In the second round the Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali (ADEMA) won 76 of 116 contested seats. The Comité National d'Initiative Démocratique (CNID) won 9 seats, followed by the resuscitated Union Soudanaise-RDA, which won 8. An additional 13 seats are reserved for representing Malians living abroad, making for a total of 129 seats in the National Assembly. Aly Nouhoun Diallo, the political secretary of ADEMA, was elected president of the National Assembly in 1992. *See* CONSTITUTION of 1974; CONSTITUTION of 1992.

#### NATIONAL CONFERENCE, 1991.

A conference of 1800 delegates held between July 29 and August 12, 1991, which discussed Mali's plans for multiparty democracy. The conference was called by the Comité de Transition Pour le Salut du Peuple and adopted a draft constitution.

#### NATIONAL PACT.

A pact signed in Bamako between rebellious Tuareg groups and the government on April 12, 1992, which tentatively put a formal end to the 1990-1992 Tuareg rebellion. This pact gave important concessions to the peoples of the north (Maure and Tuareg), who represent only 3% of the country's total population. The pact culminated almost a year and a half of negotiations between the government and the Tuareg military and political movements. These negotiations were assisted by the French and especially the Algerians, who acted as the mediators and guarantors of the pact. Given the tens of thousands of Malian Tuareg and Maure living in Algeria, the latter is in a strong position to put pressure on the dissident movements to comply with

the pact.

The National Pact was a major accomplishment for the transitional government of President Amadou Toumani Touré. Unfortunately, this pact collapsed in mid-1994 when three Tuareg groups withdrew their men from the Malian army. *See* TUAREG REVOLT, 1990-1992.

N'DAW, ROBERT TIEBILE (b. 1935).

Born in Bamako. He earned his bachelor's degree in geology. As a geological engineer he worked for the Mines and Geology Department in 1960, becoming its director in 1961. In 1962, he was appointed director-general of SONAREM, the national mining research company; in 1964, he became secretary-general of the Inter-State Committee for the Development of the Senegal River Basin (CIABRS); and in 1969, he became secretary of state for industrial development. From 1970 to 1973, N'Daw



served as minister of industrial development and public works. In 1973, he was appointed president of the Energy Company of Mali (EDM). From 1979 to 1980, he served as minister of plan and transport, and in 1980 became minister of industrial development and tourism.

N'DIAYE, BOKAR (b. 1914). Administrator and author. He was born in Kayes. From 1960 to 1964, he held the rank of ambassador and served as director of cabinet of the Ministry of Information until 1973. He is the author of *Groupes ethniques au Mali* (1970) and *Les Caste au Mali* (1970).

N'DOURE, HAMACIRE (b. 1918).

Lawyer, diplomat, and cabinet minister. N'Doure was born in Youvarou in the *cercle* of Issa Ber. After graduating from the Terrasson de Fougères School in Bamako, he entered the colonial administration, working in the law courts and in the mayor of Bamako's office from 1936 to 1945. In 1947, he went to France where he received his law degree from the University of Paris. He served as minister of commerce, industry, and transport of the Sudanese Republic from 1957 to 1959, as minister of commerce and industry of Mali from 1960 to 1962, and minister delegated to the presidency for cooperation and technical assistance in 1964. He also served in diplomatic posts but was purged in 1967 during Modibo Keita's cultural revolution. Having retired to private life, he was out of government service at the time of the coup d'etat.

NEGRE, LOUIS PASCAL (b. 1928).

Banker, lawyer, and administrator. Negre was born in Bamako where he received his early education. He then went to Saint-Louis, Senegal, where he studied at the Lycée Faidherbe. After studying administration at the French National Overseas School, he received

both a law degree and a diploma in political economy from Paris University. From 1954 to 1960, he served with distinction in several posts in Senegal and returned to Mali when the Mali Federation ruptured its ties. From 1961 to 1964, he was a technical advisor to President Keita on financial and monetary matters. From 1961 to 1962, he was managing director of the Banque Malienne de Crédit et de Dépôts, and from 1962 to 1964 served as managing director of the central bank of Mali, Banque de la République du Mali. In 1964, he became governor of this bank and was also named minister of finance in charge of plan and economic affairs. In 1966, he negotiated the Franco-Malian financial agreements, which effectively saved Mali from impending economic and financial ruin.

These accords were signed in 1967. Negre gained much respect in Mali and abroad, too, for his handling of these negotiations. In 1968, the military asked Negre to stay in his post, which he agreed to do. In both 1964 and 1969, he had been elected vice president of the African Development Bank but never took up this position because of his heavy responsibilities in Mali. In September 1970, he resigned from the cabinet and accepted the position of the African Development Bank where, until 1978, he served as vice president in the Abidjan office. In 1982, he became an assistant U.N. secretary-general in charge of Personnel.

#### N'GOLO DIARRA.

Along with Biton Coulibaly, one of the greatest kings of Ségou. N'Golo ruled from c. 1766 until 1790 and was said to be 90 years old when he died. He was close to 60 when he overthrew and killed his predecessor, Kafa-Diougou. N'Golo became a *ton djon* at an early age, being handed over to Biton Coulibaly by his father, Zahn, who could not come up with his taxes in cereals. Not all the *ton djon* recognized N'Golo as *fama* (king); as a result, he fought a civil war against his adversaries for four years. Not feeling safe at the old capital, Ségou-Koro, he moved a short distance away to Ségou-Sikoro, which he fortified. During his reign he undertook a number of military expeditions, extending Bambara power as far as Timbuctoo. He undertook two military expeditions against the Mossi and died of an illness during the second undertaking. According to oral tradition, N'Golo's remains were carried back to Ségou in cowhide. Under him Ségou enjoyed both prosperity and political tranquility and reached its zenith. After his death, two of his sons fought for the succession. Makoro, later known as Monson, won and became *fama*. See SEGOU KINGDOM; DIARRA DYNASTY; TON DJON.

#### NIAFUNKE.

Once a large *cercle* of the Mopti *région* covering 115,000 square miles and containing a population of 210,000 people. It was divided into 11 *arrondissements*. With the administrative reform of 1977 it was reduced to 7 *arrondissements* and made part of the new Timbuctoo *région*. Its remaining *arrondissements* were transferred to the new *cercle* of Youvarou. The *chef-lieu* is the town of Niafunké, whose population numbers 6,000. The *cercle* encompasses the rivers, lakes, and flood plains of the northern inland delta and the dry sahel known as the Farimaké. The population comprises Peul, Songhay, Bozo, Maure, and Tuareg. Farming and livestock raising are the principal occupations. Many people are seasonal pastoralists who raise sheep, goats, and cattle. Important livestock markets are at Saraféré, and N'Gorko.

## NIAKATE DYNASTY.

See DIARRA KINGDOM.

## NIANI.

Located on the left bank of the Sankarani River in present-day Guinea and thought to be one of several capitals of the Mali kingdom and empire. Some scholars believe that Niani became the capital early in the twelfth century after the former capital, Dioliba, was abandoned.

Ibn Batuta, a fourteenth-century Arab traveler, stated that the capital was called Mali, indicating yet another capital, probably in the same region. Leo Africanus, a sixteenth-century traveler, speaks of Niani. Some scholars are of the opinion that the emperors of Mali lived in several towns, moving from one to another. Others speculate that different capitals were built and abandoned over time. Kangaba, a town in modern Mali, is believed by some to also have once served as a capital of ancient Mali. Still other scholars are of the opinion that Niani was continuously the capital from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, during the imperial era.

The archeological excavations carried out at Niani by Vidal and Gaillard in the 1920s were supplemented by those of a Polish archeological mission in 1965 and 1968. These excavations revealed the area around Niani to have once been densely populated. Until further evidence emerges, it appears from oral traditions, Arabic sources, and archaeological finds that Niani was probably the capital of imperial Mali.

## NIANI MANSA MAMADOU (d. c. 1610).

The last ruler of the Mali state before it broke up into small chiefdoms (kafu). Oral traditions identify him as the last Mali king. He was probably the same Mansa Mahmud mentioned in the *Tarikh es Sudan* who attempted to chase the Moroccans out of the city of Djenné in

1599. This attempt failed. By that time, Mali was a small kingdom unable to enlist support from former vassal states. This mention in the *Tarikh es Sudan* is the last of the Arabic chronicles of Mali. It was probably during the reign of this last Mali king that Mali lost the gold fields of the Bambouk.

#### NIONO.

A *cercle* in the north of the Ségou *région* covering 23,063 square miles and having 150,000 inhabitants. Niono owes its importance to the presence of the Office du Niger, a giant irrigation scheme where cotton, rice, and cereals are grown on 40,000 hectares. Some 35,000 individuals live in the Office du Niger. See OFFICE DU NIGER.

#### NIORO DU SAHEL.

(1) A *cercle* in northwestern Mali in the *région* of Kayes that encompasses 11,000 square kilometers and has a population of 230,000 people, most of whom are Sarakolé, Bambara, Peul,

Maure, and Khassonké. Nioro du Sahel is divided into eight *arrondissements*. Livestock raising is an important activity in this *cercle*, as is subsistence farming. The *cercle* is one of considerable out-migration; large numbers of Sarakolé men go down to the coast or to France for jobs in the cash economy. It once had 12 *arrondissements*, but with the administrative reform of 1977, four of these were transferred to the newly created *cercle* of Diema, once an *arrondissement* of Nioro.

(2) A town of 20,000, the *chef-lieu* of the *cercle*. Founded by the Diawambe in the seventeenth century, it became the capital of the Massassai Bambara kingdom of Kaarta from 1633 to 1854 when El Hadj Omar captured it. According to oral tradition, the town was founded by the Peul about 1300.

O

#### OFFICE DU NIGER.

A giant irrigation scheme created in 1932 in the dead delta of the Niger River to the northeast of Ségou. The area was extremely arid and, at that time, inhabited primarily by pastoralists. In order to raise water into the area from the Niger, a dam and bridge were built at Markala between 1940 and 1947, which raised the waters of the Niger five meters into two canals. The Sahel Canal goes directly north and the Macina Canal follows the left bank of the river. In 1949, 18,000 hectares were irrigated; at present about 40,000 are. The total possible area that can be irrigated is 950,000 hectares. As part of the project, outside groups were settled in the area, especially Minianka peoples from Koutiala, and Mossi from Upper Volta. Many of the latter left after 1960 when Mali became independent.

In 1994, there were 40,000 people living in the Office du Niger. The Office is divided into four sectors: Kolongotomo, Kourouma,

Morodo, and Niono. Within the Office are dikes, irrigation canals, and villages established in the 1930s. There are a number of research stations, such as the one for cotton at Kogoni. Sugar and cotton are also being grown in the Office.

The Office du Niger was, from its inception, an expensive project requiring considerable outside financing. In recent years, technical assistance and funds have been provided by Western donors. During the 1960s and 1970s, technicians from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China provided assistance.

#### OPERATION TAXI.

As part of Modibo Keita's cultural revolution a number of government officials were accused of corruption; they allegedly used their wives to buy cars to use as taxis in Bamako. In November 1967, the Popular Militia seized 168 taxis. The taxis were held



in a sports stadium and their owners' identities revealed over Radio Mali. A number of prominent political figures were thus denounced for using taxis as an illegal source of profit.

#### OPERATIONS.

*See* PLAN QUINQUENNAL.

#### ORGANISATION DE COORDINATION ET DE COOPERATION POUR LA LUTTE CONTRE LES GRANDES ENDEMIES (OCCGE).

Founded in 1960. The OCCGE is the direct descendant of the Federal Mobile Preventive Medical Service (Service d'Hygiène Mobile et de Prophylaxie) of AOF. It serves as a regional supranational health organization for all (except Guinea) of the former francophone countries of AOF. It coordinates programs against major endemic communicable diseases and operates a training center (Ecole Jamot) and research and administrative center (Centre Muraz) in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso. The OCCGE also operates an ophthalmologic hospital, and leprosy treatment and research center in Bamako. The budget of the OCCGE is based on French and member-state contributions.

#### ORGANISATION DES ETATS RIVERAINS DU SENEGAL (OERS, Organization of Senegal River States).

A regional organization created in 1968 by Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, and Senegal to politically coordinate the development of the Senegal River Basin. In 1969, Mali and Guinea had disagreements that led to Guinea's withdrawal in 1972 when it quarreled with Senegal. The three remaining countries then formed the Organisation pour la mise en valeur du Fleuve Senegal (OMVS).

#### ORGANISATION POUR LA MISE EN VALEUR DU FLEUVE SENEGAL (OMVS).

Founded in 1972 to replace the Organisation des Etats Riverains du Senegal (OERS). The OMVS has as its objective the development of the Senegal River Basin. Mali, Mauritania, and Senegal are members. The organization maintains a council of heads of state and a council of ministers, the latter meeting once a year or more often if necessary. A secretary-general administers the organization and is responsible to the council of ministers. The OMVS is presently engaged in several long-term development programs, receiving considerable outside assistance from the European Economic Community, the World Bank, African Development Bank, and the United Nations Development Program.

During the 1970s, a number of feasibility studies were undertaken. In 1977, the three presidents of the OMVS traveled to OPEC countries, Europe, and the United States, seeking funds for a number

of projects. Among these projects are the large Manantali hydroelectric dam that was constructed on the Bafing River in Mali, the salt intrusion dam at Diama in the delta of the river in Senegal, irrigated perimeters in all three countries, and also a project that will make the river navigable to Kayes in Mali. Power from the Manantali Dam is sufficient for supplying all three countries.

OUOLOGUEM, YAMBO (b. 1940).

Novelist who is known for his book *Devoir de violence* (*Bound to Violence*), which in 1968 won the Prix Renaudot, a major French literary award. He is the first African writer to receive a major French literary award. A Dogon, he was born in Bandiagara and studied at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris. He obtained degrees in English, literature, and philosophy. He has also written a number of textbooks for school children. *Bound to Violence* was his first novel.

The critical acclaim given to both the French- and English-language versions of *Devoir de Violence* was later significantly tarnished when a number of literary experts noticed similarities between passages of this book and those of Andre Schwarz-Bart's *Le dernier des justes* (1959), Graham Greene's *It's a Battlefield* (1934), and passages conceived by other writers. On May 5, 1972, the *Times Literary Supplement* (London) published extracts, side by side, of both the Ouologuem and Greene books. Ouologuem defended himself by stating that the passages had originally been enclosed in quotes but were subsequently removed in editing.

American and British publishers of the book eventually withdrew whatever copies were still unsold. A detailed account of the affair is presented by Eric Sellin in "Unknown Voice of Yambo Ouologuem," *Yale French Studies: Traditional and Contemporary African Literature* 53 (1976). As critics point out, these subsequent

revelations, in addition to highlighting obvious legal and ethical issues, raise serious questions as to how authentically African this novel really is.

P

PARK, MUNGO (1771-1806).

Renowned Scottish explorer who made two extensive trips through present-day Mali. Park was the first modern explorer to visit eastern Mali. His first voyage began in 1795, taking him from the Gambia to the Senegal River and into the Bambara kingdom of Kaarta. He was imprisoned by the Maures, escaped, and then went on to Ségou and Sansanding. He was not permitted to enter Ségou and was refused an audience by the Bambara king. He then traveled west to Koulikoro and Bamako, where he joined a caravan

that took him through the Manding country to the Falémé River and back to the Gambia, where he arrived in 1797.

In 1805, he returned to West Africa, intent on sailing down the Niger River. Reaching Bamako overland, he went on to Sansanding, where he constructed a raft. He left Sansanding on November 17, 1805, and was constantly attacked by hostile riverine people. Unable to enter Timbuctoo, he was killed in present-day Nigeria during an attack on the Bussa Rapids. His faithful servant, Amadi Fatoumi, escaped from Bussa and brought back a description of Park's final months on the Niger.

#### PARTI AFRICAIN POUR LA SOLIDARITE ET LA JUSTICE.

Mali's leading political party which goes under the acronym ADEMA. It grew out of a prodemocracy group organized in October 1990 under the name Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali. The latter became a political party in April 1991. Headed by Alpha Oumar Konaré it was widely supported by a broad range of people, especially civil servants and health workers. The support of the latter in rural areas was crucial in helping ADEMA win a majority vote in both legislative and presidential elections in 1992. In the National Assembly elections, ADEMA won 76 of 129 seats, and in the presidential elections, Konaré won with 70% of the vote. ADEMA's overwhelming majority in the National Assembly caused some opposition parties to form a Front Sauvegarde de la Démocratie coalition. Student riots in the Spring of 1993 brought down the government of Younoussi Touré. Konaré asked Abdoulaye Sékou Sow to form a new government, which he did. It was a coalition government with representation from CNID. This government fell on February 2, 1994, under pressure from the radical wing of ADEMA. Boubacar Keita, the then minister of foreign affairs, was named prime minister. *See* POLITICAL PARTIES.

#### PARTI DEMOCRATIQUE SOUDANAIS (PDS).

A short-lived political party founded in Bamako in 1945 by two French Communists, Morlet and Fayette. The PDS was also known as the Parti Démocratique du Soudan.

#### PARTI DU REGROUPEMENT SOUDANAIS (PRS).

A short-lived political party formed in 1958 by Fily Dabo Sissoko following the reforms of the *loi cadre* of 1956. The PPS had been greatly weakened by these 1956 reforms, so Sissoko changed its name to Parti du Regroupement du Soudan. When this strategy failed, Sissoko joined the Union Soudanaise-RDA in 1958. See PARTI PROGRESSISTE SOUDANAIS.

### PARTI PROGRESSISTE SOUDANAIS (PPS).

A political party formed in Bamako in 1946 by the supporters of Fily Dabo Sissoko. The PPS drew strong support from the colonial administration as well as from the traditional segments of society. It was basically a conservative party, oriented toward the French. Its early post-war election gains were gradually lost to the Union Soudanaise-RDA. The latter gained strength among the urban elite and in rural areas. In 1956, National Assembly elections were held, and the PPS lost its dominance to the US-RDA. In 1958, the party then without much remaining power changed its name to the Parti du Régroupement Soudanais. In 1958, Sissoko joined the US-RDA, thus marking the end of the PPS.

### PASHALIK.

See MOROCCAN OCCUPATION.

### PEUL.

An important ethnic group who number about 600,000 in Mali. They are also known as Fula, Fulbe, and in northern Nigeria are called Fulani. The Peul are found scattered throughout West Africa. In Mali, they are primarily found in the great inland delta of the Niger in the Mopti *région*. Others are found in Nioro and Kita, and in eastern Mali. Some are cattle nomads, some sedentary farmers, and some semi-sedentary farmers and herdsman. Being thin and tall, light-skinned, and often possessing Caucasian-like facial features, the Peul are physically distinct from their neighbors. See PEUL KINGDOM; PEUL EMPIRE.

### PEUL EMPIRE OF MACINA.

A theocratic Islamic state (*dina*) established in the inland delta of the Niger in 1810 by Cheikou Amadou Bari, a Moslem cleric who overthrew the Peul king during a religious revolution. Cheikou

Amadou had traveled to Gobir in northern Nigeria, where he came into contact with Osman Don Fodio, a religious Moslem zealot who had established a theocratic state there. He successfully preached in Macina against the Peul king and the animist Bambara overlords, and then launched a religious revolution. In 1810, he defeated the combined forces of the Bambara and Peul kings and set up a theocratic state with its capital at Hamdallaye. He administratively reorganized the inland delta, sedentarized nomads, and instituted range control for the Peul herds. Cheikou Amadou was succeeded in 1844 by his son Amadou Cheikou, who in turn was succeeded by his son Amadou Amadou in 1852. In 1862, El Hadj Omar attacked Macina and defeated the forces of Amadou Amadou. After El Hadj Omar's death, Macina was ruled by his nephew Tijani Tall until his death in 1887. *See* CHEIKOU AMADOU; BA LOBBO; AMADOU CHEIKOU; AMADOU AMADOU.



## PEUL KINGDOM OF MACINA.

An early fifteenth-century kingdom established in the flood plains of the Niger River within the area of Dia. The founder of this state was Maga Diallo, a vassal of the Mali empire. The name Macina is derived from that of a pond near the village of Kéké near Tenenkou. Upon Maga Diallo's death, power was transferred in his family until 1810 when the Diallo dynasty was overthrown by a moslem cleric, Cheikou Amadou Bari. Macina was a vassal of Mali until 1494. The *Tarikh es Sudan* provides some details on the early Macina kings.

During the reign of Alioun II (1466-1480), Sonni Ali Ber attacked Macina but was repulsed, and Macina was invaded by the Mossi. In 1494, Songhay domination was not easily accepted. Demba Dondi, a brother of the *ardo* (king) Nia, assisted the Mali empire forces against Songhay and was finally killed in battle. Thereafter, Nia transferred his capital from Kéké to Guimbala near Lake Debo. In 1539, a succession dispute arose between two sons of Soudi, Ilo and Hamadou-Siré. The Askia Ishaq I tried, without success, to settle the dispute. A civil war ensued during which Ilo chased Hamadou-Siré out of Macina. Hamadou-Siré again attacked Ilo and was again defeated. He went to Gao to ask for the help of the Askia, who invited Ilo to their meeting in order to settle the dispute. Ilo was killed en route by orders of the Askia. Ishaq removed Hamadou-Siré in 1543, replacing him with Hamadou-Pullo, a brother of Ilo. Hamadou-Pullo began a bloody persecution of his rivals within the Diallo (Dialloubé) clan to which he belonged. As a result, Askia Ishaq replaced him with his nephew, Boubou-Ilo, son of Ilo. In 1550, the Peul of Nampala revolted against Songhay and were severely crushed by Askia Daoud. The next two *ardos* were sons of Hamadou-Pullo. Ibrahim-Boye died at Djenné in 1559 as Askia Daoud was passing through on his way back from invading Mali. Boubou-Mariama (1559-1589), who ruled

for 24 years, attacked a Songhay post on the Niger at the end of his reign. Askia Daoud sent an army against him which pillaged most of Macina. Boubou-Mariama refused to submit, and in 1583 was finally arrested by the Songhay and taken to Gao, where he remained until he was killed at Tondibi while fighting against the Moroccans for the Askia.

Hamadou-Amina (1583-1603), a son of Boubou-Ilo, revolted against the Moroccans in 1598. He conducted a prolonged war against the Moroccan forces during which he solicited the assistance of the Bambara. The Moroccans sent 700 soldiers against him under Moustapha el Turki. Hamadou-Amina fled to Diarra near present-day Nioro. Moustapha sacked Tenenkou and installed a member of the royal family, Hamadi-Aissata, as *ardo*. Moustapha was killed at Kabara in July 1598, on orders, it is said, from Djouder. On learning of Moustapha's

death, Hamadou-Amina returned to Macina, overthrew Hamadi-Aissata, and proceeded to attack the Moroccans in Djenné along with Mamadou III, the emperor of Mali. Unsuccessful in this assault, Hamadou-Amina withdrew to the Pondo. Later, another Moroccan force invaded Macina, but Hamadou-Amina successfully defeated it at Tie on the Bani River. The Moroccans then withdrew from Macina. In 1627, Hamadou-Amina II, the son of Boubou Aissata and grandson of Hamadou-Amina I, became *ardo*, and two years later refused to submit to the Moroccans. The Moroccan pasha, Ali-ben Abdul-Qadir, undertook a military expedition against the Peul. Hamadou-Amina II successfully harassed the Moroccans through hit-and-run military techniques. Wearied by these encounters, the pasha and his troops returned to Timbuctoo. Abdul-Qadir agreed to recognize Hamadou-Amina II as *ardo* if Hamadou-Amina would pay tribute. The latter refused. In 1644, another Moroccan pasha invaded Macina but was defeated by Hamadou-Amina II at Say. A few days later, however, Hamadou-Amina II was routed and fled toward the Bambara country; after a while, he was able to reconstitute some forces. The Moroccans, meanwhile, had named his cousin Hamadi-Patima as *ardo*. Hamadou-Amina II regained his kingdom from his cousin and ruled until 1663. Macina remained a peripheral vassal of the Moroccan pashas until 1670 when it fell under the hegemony of the Bambara kingdom of Ségou. The last king, Hamadi-Diko, was overthrown by the Moslem cleric, Cheikou Amadou.

#### PLAN QUINQUENNAL (1961-1965).

A five-year development program launched in 1961 with broad economic, educational, social, and cultural goals. Emphasis was placed on the modernization and/or development of the rural economy and transitional industry, mining research, education, health, transportation, and a national conscience. A number of important

agricultural schemes were begun, including Opération Riz, Opération Coton, Opération Arachide, and others. Achieving many of its objectives, the plan became the basic economic foundation upon which Mali functioned well into the 1980s. Since this first five-year development plan, Mali has had several others.

Under the auspices of the first five-year plan, 67% of the projects were realized. An important component of this plan was the restructuring of the country's banking and financial systems. The 1981-1985 plan was intended to stimulate production and improve the efficiency of economic management. Its aim was to maintain an annual growth of the GDP at 5%. The plan called for the establishment of a fund to develop underground water resources and exploit not only fossil fuels but hydroelectric and other forms of renewable energy as well. The total amount projected for this latest plan was 936,000 million Mali

francs. At the end of 1983, external sources had already pledged almost 310,000 million Mali francs. The most important component of this plan was the completion of the Sélingué Dam, a hydroelectric facility on the Sankarani River in southern Mali. The 1987-1991 plan envisaged an annual growth in the gross domestic product of 3.4%.

#### POINT G.

A mountain behind the city of Bamako on which is situated the national hospital of the same name. There are prehistoric cave paintings in grottos in the face of the mountain.

#### POLITICAL PARTIES.

Following the coup d'etat of March 26, 1991, the ruling CTSP (Transitional Committee) authorized the formation of political parties. When municipal and legislative elections were held in early 1992, some 48 parties took part. Only 10 achieved electoral success, however. The three leading parties are the Parti Africain pour la Solidarité et la Justice (ADEMA), whose head, Alpha Oumar Konaré, is currently President of Mali; the Congrès National d'Initiative Démocratique (CNID), chaired by Mountaga Tall; and the revived Union Soudanaise-Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (US-RDA), headed by Tieoulé Mamadou Konaté. Other parties with representation in the National Assembly include Parti pour la Démocratie et le Progrès (PDP), headed by Idrissa Traoré; Parti Malien pour le Développement (PMD); Rassemblement pour la Démocratie et le Progrès (RDP), headed by Almamy Sylla and founded in Gabon in 1990 by Malian expatriates; Rassemblement pour la Démocratie et le Travail (RDT); Union pour la Démocratie et le Développement (UDD), founded by former supporters of ex-President Traoré and headed by Mousa Balla Coulibaly; Union des Forces Démocratiques pour le Progrès (UFD), whose secretary-general is Demba Coulibaly; and Union Malienne pour la Démocratie

et le Développement (UMDD).

PONTY, WILLIAM (AMEDEE WILLIAM MERLAUD-PONTY)  
(1866-1915).

One of the most illustrious governors-general of French West Africa (1908-1915), and also one of the most outstanding lieutenant governors of the French Sudan (1904-1908). Born into a middle-class family in southwestern France, Ponty received his law degree at the age of 22. In 1890, he became an aide to Colonel Louis Archinard and traveled to West Africa where he functioned primarily as Archinard's secretary.

It was during his second tour in West Africa (his first having been in 1880 to 1890) that Archinard was commandant-supérieure and bent on destroying Tukulor hegemony once and for all. Ponty participated in the field in virtually all of Archinard's campaigns, witnessing 17

battles against Samory's forces. He was wounded at the battle of Ouassako and for this injury was admitted to the Legion of Honor.

Over a period of three years, Ponty witnessed a myriad of military encounters between French and Samory forces. His position brought him into direct personal contact with many of Archinard's subalterns who eventually rose to prominence in African colonial affairs. In 1894, after almost four years in the field, Ponty was appointed chief of the secretariat of the Senegal colony. An admiring and respectful protégé of Archinard's, Ponty next became an administrator first class in Madagascar, serving there under General Gallieni who had previously distinguished himself in the Sudan. Ponty also became a protégé of Gallieni's, this link making his ascent into higher administrative posts inevitable.

After a year in Madagascar, Ponty requested a transfer back to his beloved West Africa. He was appointed commandant of the *cercle* of Djenné where he worked with General de Trentinian, Archinard's successor and lieutenant governor of the Sudan from 1895 to 1898. When Trentinian was called back to France, Ponty replaced him but without the title, his official status being delegate of the governor-general. After five years, however, Ponty was appointed lieutenant governor, and he served in that capacity until 1908. Thus for nine years he was the chief administrator of what was to become Mali.

In 1899, the French Sudan was broken up, but Ponty retained administrative responsibility for the western part of it. Unlike many who succeeded him in the Sudan, Ponty knew the region intimately. Under him slavery was stamped out in the territory, many ex-slaves being settled in *villages de liberté* that he established.

The liberty villages were created by an order he issued on October 10, 1900, that also banned slavery in the territory. In October 1907, Ernest

Roume, the governor-general of French West Africa, became ill. Ponty was his protégé, and Roume did all he could to see that Ponty succeeded him in office. In 1908, Ponty was named governor-general of French West Africa, a post he held until his death in 1915. Ponty was a successful governor-general who developed educational institutions and fostered the development and implementation of the *politique des races* (policy of races), in essence the new policy of association. His achievements in native, economic, and military policy were numerous, and he left his mark on the entire region through his administrative innovations. He died in office in 1915 of kidney failure. The Ecole Normale William Ponty was named after him.

#### PRODEMOCRACY MOVEMENT.

A movement for multiparty democracy that began in 1989 following the fall of Euro-Commu-



nism and the development of political pluralism in other African states. In 1989 the national council of the ruling Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien restated its opposition to multiparty democracy. This position was modified by early 1990 by several external events. President Francois Mitterand of France made it clear at the La Baule Conference of French Speaking African heads of state in 1990 that France would link foreign aid to democratization. This jolted President Moussa Traoré and his regime into rethinking their previous position. Thus in early 1990, Traoré declared that different political positions could be expressed within the UDPM, a position that was for the moment acceptable to the French. This position became increasingly untenable during early 1990 as prodemocracy movements rapidly grew in a number of African states. The spectre of the collapse of Communism in eastern Europe also played a role in a number of African states, but especially in Mali, which had always maintained close ties to these regimes and which had been a client of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China for many years.

The shot across the bow was an August 1990 open letter published in *Les Echos*, an independent newspaper. The 175 signers demanded a national conference to draft a new constitution and multiparty elections. Preoccupied with the Tuareg rebellion in the north, Traoré paid little attention to these demands.

There was increasing uneasiness among some UDPM leaders with Traoré's uncompromising position. However, none publicly expressed their views at this time. Meanwhile, the political opposition began to grow in strength. Its strengths derived not only from the promoters of multiparty democracy but also from disaffected segments of society. Among the latter were graduates who had been denied access to public sector employment and several thousand ex-government employees who had lost their jobs because of the financial austerity

measures imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The political opposition became galvanized with the unofficial students' association, Association Des Elves et Etudiants du Mali (AEEM), which was relentlessly pushing for expanded financial entitlements and guarantees of public sector employment. Trade unionists also held the government's feet to the fire, demanding better salaries and fringe benefits.

The political opposition groups grew bolder and were able to put across their views in an independent press that had been permitted to develop since the mid-1980s. Also, political opposition groups began receiving external financial support from France-Liberté, headed by Danielle Mitterand, the wife of France's president, and from the French Socialist Party. Traoré did not crack down on the

political opposition at this point both because he was heavily distracted by the Tuareg rebellion and because he feared foreign aid reprisals, especially from France.

In October 1990, three prodemocracy groups were formed: the Comité National d'Initiative Démocratique (CNID), which included many lawyers, the Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali (ADEMA), and the Rassemblement pour la Démocratie et le Progrès (RDP). The latter was led by a group of political dissidents in Gabon. The chronology of demonstrations and protests and government response to them is outlined in the chronology.

The first major demonstration took place on December 10, 1990 when CNID mobilized 10,000 people. The government responded by placing curbs on the press at the end of the month. Three days later, on December 30, CNID and ADEMA together mobilized 20,000 for a peaceful march. During January 1991, the Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Mali (UNTM) held a 48 hour strike. Traoré responded by placing hardliners in critical positions. Among these was General Sékou Ly, who became minister of territorial administration (interior). Ly warned all organized group to cease political activities. This was met with violent demonstrations organized by AEEM. Two demonstrators were killed and 35 injured. Schools were closed and armored vehicles deployed throughout the capital.

Although Ly met with prodemocracy groups leaders on February 21, and Traoré expressed a willingness to moderate his position with gradualism, the opposition groups continued to press hard for change. Now joined by AEEM, the UNTM, and by the unemployed, prodemocracy groups, were unwilling to accept anything but Traoré's resignation.

In March 1991, AEEM organized a series of demonstrations and

strikes. On March 22, they and the prodemocracy groups organized a massive demonstration in Bamako that turned violent and resulted in the destruction of property. Thirty people were killed by the army. Traoré took to radio and television offering a discussion on multipartyism at the upcoming Congress of the UDPM and declared a state of emergency. The following day, a galvanized force of prodemocracy groups, AEEM, trade unionists, and the unemployed organized massive and violent demonstrations. On March 23, the prodemocracy groups formed a coordinating committee, Comité de Coordination des Associations et Organisations Démocratiques (CCAOD), and the following day they demanded that Traoré resign. Fierce rioting took place that day. The government met it with force and 65 were killed.

The continued standoff between Traoré and a galvanized opposition of prodemocracy groups, students, trade unionists, the unem-

ployed, and street criminals had by this point led to Mali's worst riots since independence and numerous casualties. On the night of March 25-26, the army intervened under Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Touré, the Commander of the parachute unit. Traoré and the leading members of the government were arrested, and the constitution of 1974, the National Assembly, and the UDPM were dissolved. Because he had played a role in suppressing the student strikes of 1979-1980, Touré was viewed as suspect by many in the opposition. The prodemocracy groups made it clear to him that their violent demonstrations would be directed against him if he did not set in motion the process for the establishment of multiparty democracy. Foreign donors also made it clear to Touré that the flow of aid would immediately cease. Without it any government in Mali would have collapsed. On March 30, Touré announced the formation of a ruling Comité de Transition pour le Salut du Peuple (CTSP) consisting of a civilian majority. This body was charged with guiding the country toward multiparty democracy.

Mali's prodemocracy groups were in the forefront of toppling the 23-year-old dictatorship of Moussa Traoré. They also prevented the army from remaining in power under the clique that authored the coup d'etat that ousted Traoré. Most importantly, they became the foundation for Mali's current multiparty democracy. See CHRONOLOGY.

#### PROGRAMME TRIENNAL (1970-1973).

A program of economic and fiscal reform aimed at balancing the budget at the end of 1973. This program required budget cutbacks and a limitation on levels of spending. Although it did not achieve all of its goals, the plan was highly successful.

#### PROTESTANTISM.

Protestant missions were established in the Sudan after World War I.

There are now three missionary groups in Mali: the Gospel Missionary Union, which has missions in central Mali; the Christian and Missionary Alliance, which has several missions in the East and Northeast and which has made many converts in San among the Bobo and in Bandiagara among the Dogon; and the World United Mission, which operates in western Mali. These groups conduct schools and dispensaries and engage in a number of social welfare programs. There are several thousand Malian Protestants. A large new Protestant church was dedicated in Bamako on January 2, 1994.

#### PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF NOVEMBER 22, 1968.

The government formed by the Military Committee of National Liberation (CMLN) after the coup d'etat of November 19, 1968. Its president was Capt. Yoro Diakite, a member of the CMLN and, at that time, its first vice president.

## Q

## QADIRI BROTHERHOOD.

An Islamic mystical order that originated in Baghdad with Sidi Abd-el-Qadir el Jilal (1079-1166). It became popular in West Africa in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, being introduced by a Touatyi scholar, Mohammed ibn Abd el Karim el-Maghili, and his disciple, Sidi Ahmed el Bakkai el Kunti. Prominent among the Qadiriya (in what is now Mali) were Cheikou Amadou of Macina and Sidi el Bekaye of Timbuctoo. *See* ISLAM.

## QUINTIN, DR.

*See* MAGE.

## QUIQUANDON, CAPT. F.

French soldier, explorer, and administrator. In 1888, he explored the Bélédougou region with Dr. Tautin. In 1889, Archinard sent him to the aid of Tieba, the king of Kénédougou in the Sikasso area. Quiquandon took a force of 3,000 Bambara from Ségou with him. In 1894, he was sent to the assistance of Aguibu Tall and Captain Nigote, who had jointly attacked the village of Bosse in the Bandiagara plateau. Quiquandon returned to Sikasso in 1893, just after the death of Tieba. His writings contain a rich description of Sikasso and Tieba.

## R

## RAFFENEL, JEAN-BAPTISTE ANNE.

French sailor and explorer who made two extensive trips into Mali. The first (1843-1844) was made with Léopold Panet, a Senegalese, with the hope of finding the source of the Nile. The men traveled to the Falémé River, into the Bambouk gold fields, and on to Kaarta. They were held prisoner for eight months in Kaarta. In 1847, Raffenel set out again and visited Koniakari (Kayes), Yelimané, and Bakel.

## RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN (RDA).

The RDA was founded in 1946 at Bamako, Sudan, by Felix Houphouët-Boigny and his associates. It was an interterritorial political party in France's sub-Saharan territories and served as a broad meeting ground for all of the African political parties struggling against French colonialism. The party was the first of its kind. From 1946 to 1955, it was allied with the French Communist Party but it broke with the latter in 1955. The RDA won its first seats to the French National Assembly in 1946. In the Sudan, the Union Soudanaise became the local branch of the RDA.

## RESEARCH INSTITUTES.

There are several major research institutes in Mali. Most of them are involved in applied research and in the



development and application of new technologies. In addition to these institutes is the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et Technologique, which coordinates all research activities in the country. Important research institutes include the Centre National de Recherches Frutières (experimental plantations, pilot schemes, etc.), the Centre National de Recherches Zootechniques (experimental farm at Sotaba), Centres de Recherches Rizicole (rice research stations), Institut d'Ophthalmologie Tropicale de l'Afrique (IOTA) (research in tropical eye diseases, training of technicians and physicians, operates an eye hospital), Institut de Recherches Agronomiques Tropicales et des Cultures Vivrières (IRAT) (research into cultivation techniques, plant breeding, etc., operates several substations), Institut du Sahel (focuses on agricultural self-sufficiency in the Sahel, supported by nine member countries, is a division of Comité Interétats de Lutte Contre la Secheresse Dans Le Sahel), Institut Marchoux (leprosy research and treatment, part of the OCCGE), and Société Nationale de Recherches et d'Exploitation des Ressources Minières du Mali (geology, mining). See ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES.

RHAROUS.

See GOURMA-RHAROUS.

RUMA.

A term derived from *Rumat*, meaning soldiers carrying firearms. It was later transformed by the Songhay into *Arma* and applied to the Moroccan invaders and their descendants. See MAKHAZAN; MOROCCAN INVASION; MOROCCAN OCCUPATION.

S

SACKO, SOUMANA.

Politician, economist, and technocrat. Sacko first came to prominence in 1987 when as minister of finance he established a reputation for

efficiency and integrity. Malians referred to him then as "Zorro" because of the drastic measures he took to fight fraud and corruption. During his brief tenure, he broke up a car smuggling ring that had illegally brought in 577 vehicles without clearing customs, fired senior officials in his own ministry because of corruption, and paid civil servants on time. The latter won for him the affectionate name "minister of salaries." He even had his customs officials scrupulously search the baggage of presidential aides returning from the United Arab Emirates. His lightning raids and his swift dismissal also earned for him the name "Kamikaze."

By late August 1987, Sacko was a folk hero to ordinary Malians. However, he was also a threat and a danger to leading politicians and businessmen engaged in a web of corrupt practices. In an attempt to break up a gold smuggling ring, Sacko grounded a plane on which he

believed some 220 pounds of gold were hidden to avoid export taxes. The exporter had advance warning and as a result no gold was found. Despite this, Sacko still grounded the plane, an action reversed by Prime Minister Mamadou Dembélé.

On August 27, Sacko resigned because he had not received any support from the government for his attempts to break up the gold-smuggling scheme. Many government officials and businessmen engaged in corrupt practices were glad to see him go.

The Traoré government used its influence to help place him with the United Nations Development Fund (UNDP). He was working for the UNDP in 1991 in Bangui, Central African Republic, when President Moussa Traoré was overthrown in a coup d'etat.

On April 2, 1991, President Amadou Toumani Touré, asked Sacko to become prime minister of a transitional government directed by the Comité de Transition Pour le Salut du Peuple (CTSP). Sacko nominated a 22-member council of ministers, of which 17 members were civilians.

Touré's choice of Sacko was a wise one since the latter had enormous moral authority with all the prodemocracy groups that had brought down the Traoré regime. In addition, he had been absent from Mali in 1990 and early 1991 when the multiparty movement began and therefore had no obvious partisan connections. The new constitution, later adopted by Malians, forbids the members of the transitional government from being candidates in the first elections. Sacko's lack of interest in elective office gave further weight to Touré's choosing him to head the transitional government. Finally, Sacko's standing as an economist was critical to Mali's negotiations with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and bilateral donors.

Sacko and his government devoted themselves to dealing with Mali's economy, civil service salaries, student entitlements, overseeing the transition to multiparty elections, and the Tuareg revolt. As a technocrat, he proved extremely able in dealing with the financial and economic issues underlying so many of Mali's social and political problems. Sacko and his government remained in office until June 8, 1992, when President Alpha Oumar Konaré was sworn in as president.

#### SAHEL.

A term used to describe both a climatic region and a vegetation zone. The Sahel lies immediately south of the Sahara, stretching from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. Its name comes from the Arabic *sahil*, meaning shore or borderland. The Sahel in Mali begins at 15 degrees north latitude and extends northward for about 300 miles to 20 degrees north latitude, where the Sahara begins.

## SAMBALA.

A nineteenth-century chief of the Khasso who ruled at Medine. Sambala's full name was Dyoukou Sambala. In 1856, supported by the French, he began a campaign against the Tukulor. His brother, Kartoum, who was disputing dynastic rights, was allied to the Tukulor. In 1855, the French signed a treaty with Dyoukou Sambala, giving them the right to build a fort at Medine. In 1857, El Hadj Omar laid siege to Medine, which was defended by Paul Holle and Sambala. For the next 20 years, Sambala was involved in petty wars in Khasso and in Kaarta, which was then dominated by the Tukulor. In 1877 and 1878, he and the French defeated Niamody of Logo (Logo was a Tukulor dependency in Khasso). This outcome worsened French-Tukulor relations but gave the French full control of the Senegambia. Sambala is regarded as one of the key allies of the Frenchman who enabled them to get a foothold in the western Sudan.

## SAMORY TOURE (c. 1830-1900).

A Moslem *imam* warrior who established an empire across much of modern-day eastern Guinea, southern Mali, the northern Ivory Coast, and western Burkina Faso. Born into a merchant Dioula family in Guinea, Samory Touré was a warrior at a young age and eventually became chief of Bissandougou. He took the title of *Almamy*, "prayer leader," and continued to expand his possessions. In 1879, he captured Kankan and then moved northward toward Kita, where the French were establishing themselves. Because his armies pillaged and inflicted terror, many villages fled northward to the protection of the French. In 1880 and 1881, the French attempted to negotiate with Samory Touré, but they met with little success. In 1883, he pushed on to where the French had just installed themselves in Bamako; there, he had several minor, indecisive battles with them.

Leaving the Niger, he moved eastward, but in 1885 engaged the

French again at Nafadie on the left bank of the Niger in the present-day *cercle* of Kita. In 1887, Samory decided to sign with the French an agreement known as the Treaty of Bissandougou, by which he agreed to cede them the left bank of the Niger River. In effect, this treaty gave Samory a free hand to attack Tieba, king of Kéné Dougou; which he promptly did. In 1887, Binger met Samory when Samory was attacking Sikasso. The French came to Tieba's aid and drove Samory off. In 1889, Samory revoked the Treaty of Bissandougou and moved his armies to the east into present-day Burkina Faso and Ghana and to the south into the Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone. He captured Kong, the Dioula capital, but was repulsed by the British in Sierra Leone. Samory destroyed Kong, which had allied itself with the French.

In 1896 and 1897, he was operating around Bobo-Dioulasso in what

is now western Burkina Faso. On September 29, 1898, he was captured by the French at his camp at Guelemou in the Ivory Coast; afterward, he was taken to Kita, then to Kayes, and finally sent into exile in Gabon where, imprisoned on an island at N'Djole on the Ogoue River, he died in 1900.

Today, Malians view Samory with mixed feelings. Admired for his military genius and diplomatic skills, he is at the same time despised for the wanton destruction and slaughter that his armies inflicted. His "empire" was not a well-organized state in the sense that the Tukulor empire was. In the Wassalou area of southern Mali, he is remembered in many villages as a cruel despot.

SAN. A *cercle* of 6143 square kilometers and 200,000 inhabitants which forms the eastern part of the *région* of Ségou. The population is composed of Bambara, Minianka, Bobo, Marka, and Bozo. In 1891, Monteil signed a treaty with Almamy Lassana Tera, the chief of San, placing the area under French protection. In 1897, San and Koutiala were grouped together as the *cercle* of Miniankana, with the town of San as the *chef-lieu*. In 1899, the *chef-lieu* was transferred to Koutiala. In 1903, San was made a military district and then a *cercle* in October 1913.

The town of San has a population of 20,000 and is the *chef-lieu*. Although it is situated on the main paved road between Ségou and Mopti, it is economically depressed compared to other towns, primarily because of its dependence on subsistence agriculture, which at best produces marginal crops. San has a beautiful mud mosque built in the Sudanese style, also a sacred pond, the Sanké, where ceremonies are held annually. It is connected to the Bani River by a dike that runs over the flood plains for several miles to the once important port village of Beninitieni. At certain times of the year,

fishing is an important activity along the Bani and on the flood plains. During the 1977 administrative reform, San lost the *arrondissement* of Yangasao to the new *cercle* of Bla. This reduced San's size by 1000 square kilometers.

#### SANGA.

An *arrondissement* in the *cercle* of Bandiagara with a population of 90,000. Because Sanga encompasses some of the most accessible and beautiful portions of the Bandiagara cliffs, it is a major Mali tourist attraction. There is an encampment at Ogol where tourists are accommodated and from where walking tours of the Dogon country are organized. See GRIAULE.

#### SANGARE, MGR. LUC-AUGUSTE (b. 1925).

Born in Ségou. Sangaré received a degree in theology. He has served as Archbishop of



Bamako since April 1962. As the leader of Mali's 50,000 Catholics, he is highly respected by the secular government and by the Moslem leaders. Breaking a tradition of noninvolvement in political affairs, Sangaré wrote President Traoré in October 1990 urging him to move the country toward multiparty democracy.

SANGARE, OUMOU (1968- ).

Female singer and songwriter whose debut album, *Moussolou* (women), in 1991 rapidly became popular in Africa and Europe. Sangaré has become popular in part because she has promoted issues of deep concern to African women, such as free choice of husbands and being respected by men for their accomplishments.

Although Sangaré's music is traditional, it has become subtly modernized. In 1991 her release *Women of Wassoulou* was the most popular in Mali. See *DYELI*.

SANGARE, SEKOU (b. 1936).

Politician who was formerly tax inspector, director of finance in 1963, and advisor in charge of economic, financial and monetary affairs of the president's office (1964-68). In 1969, he became director of cabinet of the president's office, a position he served in until 1973 when he became minister of state enterprises and business. In 1978, he was named minister of labor and civil service. He formerly served as president of the administrative council of the Central Bank of Mali.

SANOGO, LT. COL. MAMADOU.

A Malian soldier and politician who was a member of the Military Committee of National Liberation from its inception to its dissolution in 1979. Sanogo trained at the School of Military Engineering, Tashkent, USSR, and at the Engineering Academy, Fort Belvoir, USA, where he received a diploma in sports coaching. He served as both minister of justice and keeper of the seals (1975-79) and was never a

prominent member of the military committee.

#### SARAKOLE.

An important ethnic group, also known as the Soninké, who live in northwestern Mali in the *cercles* of Kayes, Yelimané, Nioro, and Nara. Descendants of the Ghana empire, the Sarakolé are now ardent Moslems who number 600,000. The diaspora of Sarakolé are found throughout Africa. They are primarily merchants who have migrated out of their homeland to most of the important marketplaces of West and Central Africa. Many have migrated to western Europe. This latter migration is primarily composed of adult males. The Sarakolé are also called Marka. (In Mali, this appellation is applied to another group of people.)

## SARO.

A small confederation of Bambara chiefdoms which remained relatively independent of the Ségou Bambara. Saro was situated between the Niger and Bani rivers in an area that lies today in the *arrondissements* of Saro and Sy.

## SEGOU.

(1) A *région* in central Mali covering 56,127 square kilometers and subdivided into seven *cercles*: Ségou, Macina, Niono, Tominian, Bla and Baroueli, and San. The *région* has a total population of 1,350,000, which belong to several ethnic groups: Bambara, Peul, Bobo, Bozo, Marka, Minianka, and Maure. The Bambara are the most numerous. The *région's* key role in Mali's agriculture is due to the presence of the Office du Niger, which extends primarily through the *cercles* of Niono and Macina, and to a lesser extent in the *cercle* of Ségou. The *région* produces rice, cotton, sugar, millet, fonio, peanuts, manioc, beans, and kapoc. In the north, livestock raising dominates.

(2) A *cercle* in the *région* of Ségou covering 8,750 square kilometers on either side of the Niger River and possessing a population of 400,000. The *cercle* is divided into eight *arrondissements*, most of which produce cash crops such as cotton and rice. The most important of these *arrondissements* are Markala, where a hydroelectric dam and bridge span the Niger; Dioro, an important rice-producing area; and Sansanding, an ancient entrepôt and important trading and agricultural center. Prior to the 1977 administrative reform, Ségou had 12 *arrondissements*. Four were detached to form the new *cercles* of Bla and Baroueli.

(3) A town of 80,500, the capital of the *région* and *chef-lieu* of the *cercle*. It is the administrative center of the Office du Niger, a transportation center and important market. A new textile factory was

opened in 1968. Ségou-Koro, a small village on the outskirts of the present town, was first the capital of the Ségou Bambara Kingdom and then of the Ségou Tukulor empire. The town was captured by the French in 1890.

#### SEGOU KINGDOM.

An important Bambara kingdom that began to develop in the early seventeenth century when, the Bambara arrived in the region from the east. According to legends, the Bambara were led to this area by Kaladian Coulibaly, a chief whose diplomatic efforts enabled the Bambara to settle peacefully among the Soninké who were already there. In 1620, his son Souma established the village of Ségou-Koro, which became the capital of the kingdom. The village is now some 10 kilometers from the modern town of Ségou.

Souma's grandson, Mamari Coulibaly, although not in line to assume leadership of the kingdom since he was the son of Souma's

daughter, overcame his opponents, and in 1712 became the *fama*, king of Ségou. Mamari is considered the founder of the Ségou kingdom and is known as Biton Coulibaly. Biton meaning "head of the age set," which he was as a young man. Gradually conquering a huge area around Ségou-Koro, he administratively and militarily organized his state in an admirable manner. Although he was considered a cruel despot, he was also admired as an effective leader. He formed the *ton djon*, a special standing army that started as a royal guard composed of captured enemy soldiers and slaves; the *ton djon* became a powerful force in the life of the kingdom. They raided for slaves, which were then sold into the Atlantic slave trade and which provided the kingdom with much of its wealth.

Biton Coulibaly also subdued the Soninké, built a fleet of canoes for the Somono for transporting his troops, and increased the ranks of the Soninké by giving them captured enemy soldiers and slaves. He extended the borders of Ségou northeastward to Djenné and drove the Massassi Bambara into Kaarta. In 1755, he died from tetanus.

Biton Coulibaly was succeeded by his son Dikoro (1755-1757), a cruel tyrant eventually killed by the *ton djon*. Biton's second son, Ali, was Moslem; he was killed by the animist *ton djon* because he tried to impose Islamic practices on them. The *ton djon* finally made one of their own king, Ton Massa (1757-1760). Ton Massa abandoned Ségou-Koro; the *ton djon* assassinated him when he tried to push through a grandiose irrigation scheme.

In 1766, *ton djon* N'Golo Diarra was made king. Diarra ruled until 1790, and became not only founder of the Diarra dynasty (which lasted until 1862) but Ségou's greatest king. Reestablishing Ségou-Koro as his capital, Diarra conquered Macina, Djenné, and Timbuctoo. He attacked the Mossi twice but was defeated and died

during the second onslaught.

After N'Golo Diarra's death, a protracted struggle ensued between his two sons for the succession. Finally, Monson became *fama* (1790-1808). He expanded westward, conquering BéléDougou and Kaarta and pillaging Timbuctoo. After his rule, Ségou began to decline. Monson was succeeded by his son Da (1808-1827) and several lesser kings. Ségou fell to El Hadj Omar Tall in 1862, and in 1864, Tall's son Amadou Tall became *fama* of Ségou until 1892 when the French drove him out. Archinard reinstated the Diarra dynasty under Mari Diarra, but the latter was removed and executed by the French resident Captain Underberg for plotting to revolt and kill him. The economy of the Ségou Kingdom was based on slave trading and grain production. See COULIBALY DYNASTY; DIARRA DYNASTY; TABLE 3.

### SEGOU TUKULOR EMPIRE.

An empire established in 1862, by El Hadj Omar Tall, a Tukulor from Futa Toro, when he conquered the Ségou Bambara kingdom. The empire was ruled from about that time until 1890 by one of Tall's sons, Amadou Tall, who was eventually driven out by the French. The Ségou Tukulor empire was part of a much larger Tukulor empire founded by El Hadj Omar beginning in 1852, this larger empire stretching from the Senegal River Basin to the Niger Bend. The Bambara of Ségou were never fully conquered, and Tukulor control was somewhat limited to major towns and villages. The capital of the empire was Ségou-Koro, the old capital of the Bambara kingdom.

### SENUFO.

An important ethnic group in southeastern Mali who, together with the Minianka, number about 600,000. Many more Senufo are found in the Ivory Coast. They are divided into five principal factions, of which the Minianka is one. In the nineteenth century, part of the Senufo country was organized into a kingdom called Kéné Dougou. The Senufo are sedentary farmers who are predominantly animist. They call themselves Siena.

### SEVARE.

A town situated on the edge of the flood plains 13 kilometers from Mopti. Since 1970, Sevaré has undergone a spectacular growth because of (1) an overflow of population from Mopti; (2) the development of the Mopti-Sevaré rice fields; and (3) the construction of a rice-processing plant.

### SEY BAMANA.

A brother of Foulakoro. Sey Bamana became king in 1754 and founded a second Kaarta kingdom after the first had been destroyed in 1754 by Biton Coulibaly's armies. He established a capital to the west

of the first Kaarta kingdom at Guemou, and from there reconstituted the Kaarta state by expanding it into Khasso and into the territory of the Diawara. *See* KAARTA KINGDOM; TABLE 4.

#### SHAYKH.

Also spelled Cheick, Cheikh, Cheikou, Shaixu, a term applied to the founders of Sufi orders and their successors. Such individuals are considered to have saintly qualities. The title is particularly in use in the western geographic areas of Islam West Africa, for example.

Shaykh is often used today as a proper given name. Prominent shaykhs in Mali history include Cheikou Amadou and Shaykh Hamallah bin Mohammed al-Tishiti. The plural of shaykh is shyukh. *See* TIJANI BROTHERHOOD; QADIRI BROTHERHOOD.



SIDI EL BEKAYE (d. 1864).

Also known as Ahmad el Bekaye and Ahmad al-Bakkai. He was chief of the Kunta Arabs of Timbuctoo and renowned for his wisdom as an administrator and diplomat. During the mid-nineteenth century, he headed the leading power group in Timbuctoo, which supported the Peul Emperor of Macina, Amadou Amadou. He befriended and protected the famous German explorer Heinrich Barth when the latter visited Timbuctoo and the region of the Niger Bend (1853-1854). An important figure in the Qadiriya Islamic Brotherhood, el Bekaye opposed El Hadj Omar Tall, the Tukulor jihadist and member of the rival Tijaniya Islamic brotherhood who conquered a great portion of the western Sudan. Ahmad el Bekaye joined forces with Ba Lobbo and Abdul Salam of Macina; the coalition was temporarily effective in routing the Tukulor. El Hadj Omar's nephew Tijani Tall, however, was able to reimpose Tukulor hegemony over Macina. Ahmad el Bekaye died at Saredina while leading a military campaign against Tijani Tall. His tomb there still draws a number of Malian pilgrims.

SIDIBE, MAMBY (1891-1977).

Malian schoolteacher, educator, administrator, and writer. Born in the *cercle* of Kita, Sidibé was educated at the Ecole des Fils des Chefs at Kayes and the Ecole Normale at Saint-Louis in Senegal. In 1933, he was named director of the regional school at Niafunké and later of the school at Bandiagara. In the late 1930s, he became a political activist, protesting the actions of French colonial authorities. In 1937, he left Niafunké for a vacation in Bamako where he founded the Association des Lettrés du Soudan, the first voluntary association in the Sudan. Bringing together the educated elite, this group discussed political matters, although its purpose was primarily social. To stop this development, the French transferred Sidibé to Bandiagara, away from Bamako. Among the members of this group were Mamadou Konaté

and Modibo Keita. In 1945, he served as president of the Comité d'Etudes Franco-Africaines (CEFA), a group established by the resistance movement in Algiers. In 1944, Sidibé was sent to Dakar to the Institute Français d'Afrique Noire (IFAN) for a training course, and then on to Niamey in Niger to establish an IFAN office there. In spite of his being an early pioneer in modern Malian politics, he did not continue in the mainstream of political developments. In the early 1960s, he became a cultural advisor at the Ministry of Information and Tourism. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, he appeared regularly on Radio Mali, recounting ethnographic and historical data. He retired from public service in 1972. In 1982, his two-volume work, *Contes Populaires du Mali*, was published in Paris.

SIENA.

See SENUFO.

SIKASSO.

(1) A *région* in southern Mali comprising seven *cercles* and covering 60,480 square miles. It has a population of 1,400,000. The *cercles* are Sikasso, Koutlala, Yorosso, Kadiolo, Kolondieba, Yanfolila, and Bougouni. Several diverse ethnic groups live in the *région*: Senufo, Bambara, Minianka, Dyula, Bobo, and Wassalunké. Sikasso is an agriculturally rich area of Mali where important cash crops are grown. Cotton is grown on a large scale in the *cercle* of Koutiala, and tea is grown in the *cercle* of Sikasso. Cereal crops of fonio, millet, and corn are usually abundant in the *région*. Sikasso is traversed by two principal paved roads the Bamako-Ivory Coast road and the Mopti-Burkina Faso road. Sikasso lost territory in 1977 when parts of Koutiala were shifted to create the *cercle* of Bla in the Ségou *région*.

(2) A *cercle* of 15,375 square kilometers and 400,000 inhabitants. Sikasso is subdivided into 10 *arrondissements*, the most important of which are Klela, Niena, Central, and Kignan.

(3) A town of 70,000, the capital of the *région* and the *chef-lieu* of the *cercle*. It was the capital of the kingdom of Kéné Dougou, which was transformed from a small village in 1870 to a large town by Tieba, the famous king who ruled from 1863 to 1893. Samory tried to conquer Sikasso but failed. The French captured the town in 1898 after a siege of 15 days. Babemba, the king at that time, committed suicide rather than surrender.

SIRA BO (1761-1780).

King of Kaarta. He succeeded Doni Babo, who had led the life of an itinerant brigand. Southwest of Nioro, Sira Bo set up a new capital, called Guemou, which was modeled on the place founded by Sey

Bamana. He developed Kaarta into a genuine political entity, attacked Khasso where his brother and predecessor had been killed fighting, invaded BéléDougou, and pillaged as far south as Kita. Sira Bo ruled in Kaarta at the time that N'Golo Diarra ruled in Ségou. *See KAARTA KINGDOM; TABLE 4.*

SISSOKO, ALIOUNE (1923-1975).

Diplomat, administrator, and politician. Sissoko was born at Dia in central Mali. Trained as a school teacher, he became a territorial advisor from the French Sudan (1952-1960) and then served as a deputy to Mali's National Assembly from Ségou (1960-1967). In August 1969, he was named Mali's ambassador to Belgium, Luxemburg, and the European Economic Community. Tragically, Sissoko was shot and killed in the Malian embassy in Brussels in 1975 by his Malian chauffeur. The chauffeur, who later attempted suicide, was reported to have been angered over Ambassador Sissoko's decision to repatriate him to Mali.

SISSOKO, BAZOUMANA (1906-1987).

A Malian bard celebrated for his renditions of traditional music on the *n'goni*, a four-string guitar. His chanting and music were played continuously over Radio Mali the day of the coup d'etat, November 19, 1968.

SISSOKO, COL. CHARLES SAMBA.

Military officer and politician who was made a member of the military committee even though he was in Gao at the time of the 1968 coup d'etat. In 1970, Sissoko became minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, a post he served in until his arrest in March 1978 when, along with Tiecoro Bagayoko and Kissima Doukara, he was accused of trying to overthrow the government. On October 21, 1978, after a three-day trial in which he and 43 other officers were tried, he was given five years in prison at hard labor by the State Security Court.

SISSOKO, LT. COL. FILIFING (b. 1936).

Army officer and politician. He was educated at the Lycée Terrasson de Fougère in Bamako and in Dakar. He joined the French army in 1957 and transferred to the Mali army in 1960. A member of the Military Committee of National Liberation from its inception to dissolution, he served as its permanent secretary. After 1968, he served as head of cabinet to President Moussa Traoré. In 1971, he was promoted to captain; in 1974, to major; and in 1974, to Lt. Col. In October 1978, he served as president of the National Commission for the Preparation of the Constitutional Congress of the Union Democratique du Peuple Malien (UDPM). He was the president's closest ally on the military committee; he was also the committee's theoretician. Sissoko was largely responsible for drafting the 1974 constitution and for setting up the UDPM political party. He always maintained a low public profile. In 1979, he became a member of the central committee of the UDPM and remained Traoré's closest

political confident. He was arrested on March 26, 1991, during the coup d'etat that overthrew Traoré.

SISSOKO, FILY DABO (1900-1964).

Malian politician, writer, poet, and administrator. He was born in Bafoulabe in western Mali. He graduated from the Ecole William Ponty in 1918 and taught school at the Ecole Régionale at Bafoulabe. In 1933, he became *chef de canton* of Niambia. In the late 1930s, he participated in Popular Front activities in the French Sudan, and in 1945 came to Bamako. Because of his relatively conservative political stance, he was looked upon favorably by the French administration. In 1945, he ran for the constituent assembly against Mamadou Konaté and Modibo Keita, and won. In 1946, Sissoko's supporters established the Parti Progressiste Soudanais (PPS), which had the strong support of the French administration, traditional

chiefs, and rural populations. The party's chief opposition was the Union Soudanaise, which took a more radical stand on most issues and had a strong Marxist orientation. In spite of early victories, the PPS gradually lost out to the US-RDA, and in 1959 Sissoko integrated the PPS into this organization.

On July 20, 1962, along with Hamadoun Dicko and Kassoum Touré, Sissoko was arrested and charged with treason and for attempting a coup during the Mali franc riot. Along with 95 others, they were tried by a "popular tribunal." Some of the accused were pardoned, but Sissoko, Dicko, and Touré were condemned to death. In October 1962, the death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment at hard labor. The three prisoners were taken to the *cercle* of Kidal, where a Tuareg revolt was in progress. Soon after, rumors circulated in Bamako that the men had been shot, and their supporters charged Modibo Keita with political assassination. On August 3, 1964, the National Political Bureau of the US-RDA published a communiqué stating that the three had been killed during an ambush by Tuareg rebels while being taken to Bouressa. Allegedly, when the truck was fired upon, the prisoners jumped out and were killed in the crossfire. This explanation has never been accepted by most Malians, and although public documentation is lacking, it is popularly held that Fily Dabo Sissoko and his two associates were executed on orders from Modibo Keita. He authored several books of poetry, novels, and folktales. One of his best known works is a collection of poems, *La savanne rouge* (1962).

SISSOKO, CAPT. MAMADOU (1930-1969).

Member of the Military Committee of National Liberation. Born in Kayes, Sissoko entered the military in 1948 and Frejus in 1956. As a lieutenant, he commanded forces which put down the 1964 Tuareg revolt in northeastern Mali. For this, Sissoko was decorated with the

Order of the Army. He participated in the coup d'etat of November 19, 1968, which overthrew the regime of Modibo Keita. On March 2, 1969, he died in an automobile accident on the Ségou-Bamako road.

SOLEILLET, PAUL (b. 1842).

French explorer, commercial and political agent, and soldier. Born in Avignon, he traveled to Algeria from 1865 to 1866 as the representative of a French cloth merchant. In 1870, during the Franco-Prussian War, he joined the army. In 1873, the Algerian Chamber of Commerce financed his mission to Touat. Soleillet became a strong advocate of the trans-Saharan railway. The Société de Géographie de Lyon, a creation of French commercial houses trading in Africa, sent him on an exploratory mission into the Sahara in 1874. Soleillet reached In-Salah. The Avignon Chamber of



Commerce used his report to argue for increased official French presence in both the Sahara and the western Sudan in order to foster the interests of French trading monopolies. At the time, French commercial interests were convinced it was necessary to link trade in Senegal with that in Algeria via the Tukulor domains in the western Sudan. Soleillet set out for Ségou (1875-79) to conclude a treaty of friendship and commerce with Amadou. He left Saint-Louis April 28, 1878, and traveled across Kaarta, Bélé Dougou, arriving in Ségou October 1878, where he remained until January 20, 1879. This mission was less than successful because of the French annexation of Logo in September 1878. Amadou reported that normal relations with the French could not be reestablished until Brière de l'Isle was removed as governor of Senegal. Soleillet returned via Nioro and Koniakari to Medine, this his third trip in the interests of French commerce (and financially supported by those interests). Under the auspices of the French Ministry of Public Works, his fourth expedition took place in 1879 and extended from Saint-Louis to Adrar. Soleillet was an active member of the Société de Géographie Commerciale. See LOGO; KHASSO.

#### SOMONO.

A group of fishermen on the middle Niger who are generally considered to be a caste of the Bambara, whose language they speak and whose customs they follow. The Somono are composed of the descendants of many diverse ethnic groups. They are primarily Moslem. Those few on the Upper Niger speak Malinke and follow Malinke customs.

#### SONGHAY.

An important ethnic group who live in eastern Mali along the Niger River. They number about 500,000 and are primarily sedentary subsistence farmers. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,

they developed the Songhay empire of Gao, which was destroyed by the Moroccans in 1591. The Songhay possess a rich history and have been Islamized since the thirteenth century.

#### SONGHAY EMPIRE.

An empire that had its origins as a small chiefdom along the banks of the Niger in present-day eastern Mali. The chiefdom was established about 670 A.D. by the Songhay people. By the eleventh century, it had evolved into two settlements Gao, near the present-day city of the same name, and Koukiya, to the south near to the present-day village of Bentia. During this early stage of its development, Songhay was in commercial contact with Tadmekka, a Tuareg settlement in the Adrar of Iforas hills to the northeast, which served as its Saharan entrepôt. The salt trade from the Taghaza mines in the Sahara contributed much to the empire's commercial life. Gao

was the principal place where the products of the western Sudan were traded; goods came from North Africa through Tadmekka and Takedda. The state surrounding Gao went into a steady decline for 600 years, from the ninth through the fifteenth centuries.

Because of a fierce struggle over Gao between Mali and the Tuareg of Takedda, it was abandoned between 1374 and 1377. Its decline thereafter resulted from a commercial shift westward to Timbuctoo. The *Tarikh es Sudan* provides a detailed listing of the rulers of the three dynasties that governed this region. The first rulers were the Za (Ma), probably Berbers, who ruled the area for almost six centuries. Little is known of them. Za Kossoi, the 14th king, converted to Islam in 1009. Prior to him, the Za were all followers of an indigenous religion.

In 1324 and 1325, Kankan Moussa (Mansa Moussa), the emperor of Mali, visited Gao while returning from his pilgrimage to Mecca; there, he received the homage of Za Yassiboi. Gao had been invaded by a Malian army under Sagamandia during Moussa's absence and was a de facto vassal state of Mali. Kankan Moussa took two of Za Yassiboi's sons back to Mali with him. The older of the two, Ali Kolon, escaped and eventually became king of Songhay. Ali Kolon assumed the name Sonni (meaning "savior"), by which 19 of his successors were also known. From 1335, when Sonni Ali Kolon became king, to 1492, when Sonni Bakari was overthrown by Askia Mohammed, there were a total of 20 Sonni kings. By far the most important of them was the next to last, Sonni Ali Ber, who ruled from 1465 to 1492. It was he who, through military conquest, expanded Songhay from a small riverine state to an empire. During his 27-year reign, Songhay became independent of Mali. In 1468, Sonni Ali Ber captured Timbuctoo, which had been seized from Mali in 1433 by the Maghsharen Tuareg. Sonni Ali Ber expanded the empire until it

included Macina and parts of the Mali empire.

Upon his death, he was succeeded by his son Sonni Bakari Da'o, who was quickly overthrown by Mohammed Touré, a Soninké who had been a lieutenant in his father's service. Taking the name Askia Mohammed, he established a new dynasty. A total of 11 Askias ruled Songhay from the accession to power of Askia Mohammed in 1492 until a century later, when the Moroccans invaded Songhay. The empire reached its greatest extent under Askia Daoud (1549-1583), whom the Timbuctoo-based scholars of the seventeenth century regarded as a wise and pious ruler. Following Askia Daoud's death, the Songhay empire became greatly weakened from within by internecine power struggles among his sons.

The throne was usurped by Askia El Hadj upon Daoud's death. El Hadj was a younger son of Daoud's and he, in effect, took the place

of the eldest and most favored son, Mohammed Bankanu, who was away from Gao at the time his father died. Mohammed fled to Timbuctoo where he was given refuge by the Cadi, El Aqib. El Hadj had Mohammed arrested and imprisoned at Kanatu. El Hadj's troubles, however, were not over. Soon after Mohammed Bankanu's arrest, another of his brothers, Kurmina Fari el Hadi, tried to dethrone him. He, too, was exiled to Kanatu. Finally, in 1586, another brother, Mohammed Ban, overthrew El Hadj and had his two imprisoned brothers executed. This fratricidal act greatly inflamed an already bloody dynastic struggle. A terrible epidemic in 1582 and a severe famine in 1586 further weakened Songhay.

The Moroccan ruler el Mansur was aware of the turmoil in Songhay. His designs on the Taghaza salt mines and on the great wealth of gold in Songhay were in a sense a manifestation of his desire for the universal caliphate. In 1583, he received a written act of homage from Mai Idris of Bornu and in 1584 sent a military expedition against the Arabs of Mauritania. El Mansur guessed that the time was ripe to invade Songhay. In 1590, el Mansur wrote to Askia Ishaq II telling Ishaq that he intended to tax the salt leaving Taghaza from mines then owned by Songhay. The Moroccans had taken over the Taghaza mines in 1585, stationing 200 men there. The Songhay then opened the mines at Taoudeni. Later, the Moroccans withdrew from Taghaza and the Songhay returned to that location. Askia Ishaq II refused to accept el Mansur's levy. His response to el Mansur, which the latter viewed as highly provocative, spurred an invasion of Songhay.

Two years prior to this incident, in 1588, a dispute arose between Mohammed el Sagi (another son of Askia Daoud, who was commander of the troops in the west) and the Askia's tax collector at Kabara, the port of Timbuctoo. The tax collector was killed during an altercation. This rather minor incident (for those times) had serious

consequences. Having already committed a capital offense, Mohammed el Sadiq decided to rebel against his brother Askia Mohammed Bani. Within a short time he was able to gain the support of most of the military forces of the western provinces of the empire. The merchants of Timbuctoo, who had been the victims of tax extortion, sided with Mohammed el Sadiq, as did a number of the city's scholars and officials of the Askia. Even the Maghsharen Tuareg, who controlled the salt mines at Taghaza, sided with el Sidiq. They may have been prompted to do so because the ruling Askia had prohibited caravans from going to Taghaza following the recent Moroccan seizure. The Maghsharen Tuareg had suffered enormous economic losses because of this seizure, and it may be that el Sidiq promised to restore Taghaza to them if his march on Gao was successful. El Sidiq was proclaimed Askia in Timbuctoo, and he started a march on Gao. Askia

Mohammed Bani set out to meet the forces but died of natural causes en route to battle.

On April 18, 1588, Askia Ishaq II, another son of Askia Daoud, was proclaimed emperor in Gao. El Sadiq was defeated at Konbo-Korai; he fled to the Gourma and was later captured and executed. Askia Ishaq II proved less vengeful than his brother Askia Mohammed Bani would probably have been. But he did execute the chief of the Maghsharen Tuareq, Tibirt, an act which alienated the mounted military force that would have been capable of intercepting the Moroccans in the Sahara.

In February 1591, 20 weeks after leaving Morocco, a Moroccan invasion force of 4,000 men arrived on the banks of the Niger near present-day Bamba. The invasion force marched along the Niger toward Gao, and on April 12, 1591, near Tondibi, north of the city, met the 40,000 troops of Askia Ishaq II. The Moroccans were equipped with firearms, and the Songhay proved no match for them. After being defeated, Askia Ishaq II with most of the inhabitants of Gao fled across the Niger into the Gourma. The Moroccans moved on to Timbuctoo, arriving there on May 30, 1591. Near Bamba, on October 14, 1591, Askia Ishaq II again fought the Moroccans but was again defeated. Intrigues among the sons of Askia Daoud weakened the Songhay cause, and some of Daoud's sons went over to the Moroccans. Askia Ishaq II was finally defeated, and the remnants of the Songhay army rallied around his brother Askia Mohammed Gao. Forty days later, Askia Mohammed Gao was captured by the Moroccans, sent in chains to Gao, and executed there. Then, while the Moroccans named Gao's brother Suliman as Askia in Timbuctoo, the Songhay rallied around Askia Nouh, who ruled in the Dendi to the southeast of Gao. Several Askias ruled in Dendi; in Timbuctoo, 18 were appointed by the Moroccans between 1591 and 1750. In 1591,

however, the Songhay empire was effectively destroyed. *See* ASKIA; MOROCCAN INVASION; SONNI; SONNI ALI BER.

SONINKE.

*See* SARA KOLE.

SONNI.

A dynasty of 20 kings and emperors who ruled the Songhay state from 1335 until 1492. They were a continuation of the Za dynasty. The most important of the Sonni rulers was Sonni Ali Ber. The dynasty was begun by Sonni Ali Kolon, son of Za Yassiboi, who Mansa Moussa took back to Mali with him in 1325.

SONNI ALI BER (d. 1492).

A famous emperor of the Songhay empire who ruled from 1465 to 1492. Through military conquest, he transformed a small riverine state along the Niger Bend into a powerful



empire. Sonni Ali Ber conquered Timbuctoo in 1469 and Djenné in 1473. From Djenné he launched two military expeditions against Mali, wresting from Mali the province of Kala. Sonni Ali Ber persecuted the Peul with a vengeance. A large portion of the population of Timbuctoo, including the traders and scholars, fled to Walata prior to Sonni Ali Ber's conquest of the city.

Although a Moslem by name, Sonni Ali Ber adhered to indigenous religious practices. Many scholars claim he had no use for Islam or for the learned Islamic scholars of Timbuctoo, whom he viewed as constituting a state within a state and answering to authority higher than himself. Sonni Ali Ber did not require their support and refused to compromise with them. Because he was leader of the anti-Moslem faction, it is no wonder that Moslem chroniclers of the seventeenth century describe him in the most pejorative of terms (and praise his successor, Askia Mohammed, the leader of the pro-Moslem faction). Because of Sonni Ali Ber's poor treatment of Moslem scholars, their subsequent accounts of him must be viewed cautiously. In effect, Sonni Ali Ber offended the very people who wrote his history for posterity. He died in 1492 under somewhat mysterious circumstances; supposedly, he drowned in the Koni (a branch of the Niger) while on a military expedition. Oral tradition holds that he was killed by Askia Mohammed, his sister's son. He was immediately succeeded by his son Sonni Bakari Da'o, who was overthrown by Askia Mohammed. See SONGHAY EMPIRE; SONNI; ASKIA MOHAMMED; ZA.

### SOSSO EMPIRE.

A Soninké empire that developed in the eleventh century in Kaniaga, a region situated in the present-day administrative *cercles* of Banamba, Koulikoro, and Nioro. Originally populated by Soninké migrants from Ghana beginning in the eighth century, Kaniaga gradually grew into a powerful local state. In the late eleventh century, when Ghana

declined, large numbers of Soninké fled to Kaniaga. In 750, Kaniaga came under the rule of Goumate-Fade, who was head of the Diarisso clan. Goumate-Fade set up his capital at Guessene. At the end of the eleventh century, with the power of Ghana debilitated, Kaniaga, a Ghana vassal state, was able to successfully assert its independence. The capital was eventually moved to nearby Sosso, a name then given to the entire state.

Sosso's best known ruler was Soumangourou Kannaté (1200-1235). He greatly extended Sosso's domains, annexing portions of the old Ghana empire, Bagana, and Diaga. The Diarra kingdom became a vassal state of Sosso. Fleeing from Soumangourou in 1224, Moslems of Ghana headed northwest and founded Walata. Soumangourou and the peoples of Sosso were non-Moslem.

Sosso came into direct conflict with the Mali empire, which was

then rapidly expanding under Soundiata Keita. Indigenous oral traditions in Mali today negatively portray Soumangourou Kannaté as an evil sorcerer king. This depiction, however, represents the view of Moslem Mande oral historians to whom Soundiata is a god-hero. Soundiata's deification and the triumph of Islam over animism in the Soundiata-Soumangourou conflict were, in part, achieved by portraying Soumangourou as excessively evil. In 1235, Soundiata and his army defeated Soumangourou at Kirina, and proceeded to conquer all of Sosso. Many Sossé fled westward to Tekrur. *See* MALI EMPIRE; SOUNDIATA KEITA.

SOUMARE, MOUSTAPHA (b. 1934).

Mathematician and educator. He received his doctoral degree in mathematics in France. From 1971 to 1972, he was director of the Ecole Normale Supérieure. From 1972 to 1973, he served as director-general of the National School of Engineering, and, in 1973, he was appointed minister of fundamental education, youth, and sports. His wife Assa Soumare served as director of the Secondary School of Public Health.

SOUNDIATA.

*See* KEITA.

SOW, ABDOULAYE SEKOU.

Prime minister and civil servant. Sow served for several years as director of the Ecole National d'Administration, which has long been a center of student revolt. He next served as director of Mali's office of tourism and then as a technical advisor to several ministries. Although he was not associated with any political movement in 1990, he declared his opposition to President Traoré. During the transitional regime of President Touré he was minister of state for defense and reorganized the Malian army. He did this by retiring older officers

loyal to Traoré. He played an important role in writing the constitution of the third republic.

Following the presidential elections of 1992, he served as minister of defense in the government of Prime Minister Younoussi Touré. On April 13, 1993, President Konaré appointed him prime minister following the fall of the government of Younoussi Touré. He resigned as prime minister on February 2, 1994, under pressure from the radical wing of ADEMA.

#### STATE ENTERPRISES.

At the sixth congress of the Union Soudanaise-RDA held in Bamako in September 1962, a number of state enterprises and corporations were established. These included: Banque de la République du Mali (BRM), Société Malienne d'Importation et d'Exportation (SOMIEX), Régie des Transports du Mali (RTM), Transports Urbains de Bamako (TUB), Société Nationale

d'Enterprise des Travaux Publics (SONETRA), Pharmacie Populaire, Air Mali, Librairie Populaire, Compagnie Nationale de Navigation, Société des Conserves du Mali (SOCOMA), Office Malien de Cinématographie (OCINAM), Agence de Presse du Mali (ANIM), Energie du Mali (EDM), Office du Tourisme du Mali, Société d'Equipement du Mali (SEMA), and Société Nationale des Abattoires (SONEA).

The names of some of these organizations changed. Over time the Office du Tourisme du Mali became Société Malienne de l'Exploitation du Tourisme (SMET) in 1975. The Compagnie Nationale de Navigation became Compagnie Malienne de Navigation (CMN). Later, other societies were formed. Some of these were Société de Constructions Radioélectriques du Mali (SOCORAM), Société Malienne du Betail et des Peaux et Cuirs (SOMBEPEC), Service Cinémato-graphique du Ministère de l'Information du Mali (SCINFOMA), Société Malienne des Boissons Gazeuses (SOMALIBO), Société Nationale des Tabacs et Allumettes du Mali (SONATAM), Office des Produits Agricoles du Mali (OPAM), Société Nationale du Recherche et d'Exploitation Minière (SONAREM), Société des Hotelleries du Mali (SHM), and Ateliers et Chantiers du Mali (ACM). Only a few of these corporations are now in existence. Their numbers and scope of functions indicate the degree of state control over the economy during Keita's Marxist regime.

Under pressure from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and other donors, the National Council of the Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien announced in January 1983 its recommendation that state employment be cut back. This announcement was followed by President Traoré's declaration that free enterprise would be encouraged. This policy marked the beginning of Mali's effort to dissolve a number of state enterprises, a

process that is still underway. Mali's effort to move away from a state-controlled economy represents a major shift in economic policy. The closure of SOMIEX, UNICOOP, and other state enterprises led to increased unemployment by 1990. Dismissed employees, some with many years of service, joined the ranks of protestors that brought down the Traoré government on March 26, 1991.

#### STUDENT AND TEACHER STRIKES AND RIOTS (1979-1980).

In 1979, the government sought to stem the flow of graduates of upper-level schools into the civil service and to cut the rosters of state-owned enterprises where thousands of these graduates had previously found employment. This policy, coupled with the failure of the government to come up with the money to provide long-established "bourses" (financial support) to such students, and its inability to meet the civil service payroll on time (delays of several months were usual),

led to a galvanizing of student and teacher interests that resulted in a series of violent confrontations between November 16, 1979, and November 1980.

An additional motivating factor was the students' concern over the breaking of ties by student representatives Union Nationale des Etudiants et Eleves du Mali with the national political party UDPM in early 1979. UNEEM advocated scientific socialism; this stand conflicted with the UDPM's policy of an independent and planned national economy. UNEEM was in effect an independent student union free of association with the Union Nationale des Jeunes du Mali (UNJM), the party's youth movement. In the view of some, ideological differences with the government, as well as the assertion of independence from the party's youth movement, were the proxies through which real student anger (fear of unemployment, fear of tougher examinations resulting in expulsion from school, and non-receipt of usual financial aid) was expressed. Grounds for student-government confrontation were set then in early 1979.

On November 16, 1979, students from upper-level schools rioted and demonstrated in response to an announcement that new, tougher entrance examinations would be given for entry into professional training; these stiffer entrance examinations made qualifying for government jobs much more difficult. Three hundred students were arrested, conscripted into the army, and posted to army camps in the remote north of the country.

Even more violent demonstrations occurred on December 17-18, 1979, when 15 students were killed by police. By the end of the year, the government gave in to some student demands in order to quell the riots. At the same time, the teachers began to organize. They established the Commission des Comités Syndicaux des Enseignants,

an autonomous trade union representing teachers in the Bamako area. The government concessions made possible, on January 14, 1980, the opening of the upper-level schools. The central executive bureau of the UDPM voted to have the government pay, retroactively, student financial support amounting to 1.4 billion Malian francs money the government clearly did not have. On January 15, 1980, the UDPM decreed that the UNEEM committees in all the schools would be replaced by those of UNJM. This badly timed move reflected the government's wish to stamp out independent student unionism. Not surprisingly, the government was unable to meet the financial commitments made to the students by the UDPM. This news led to boycotts of classes by both students and teachers. The government decided to give half of what it promised to students and half the salaries due to civil servants, teachers included.

On February 13, 1980, the students at the Ecole Normale Technique



d'Enseignement Feminin (ENTE F) at Banankoro in Ségou went on a rampage and vandalized their school. A teacher, Amadou Kane, and a student, Maki Touré, were arrested, judged, and condemned to eight and three months in prison, respectively. This seemingly minor judicial action provided the focus for the next and most violent confrontation between the government on one side and students and teachers on the other. During most of February, students waged incessant demonstrations throughout the country in response to the government's reneging on paying their financial support. Massive arrests of students and teachers occurred at the former UNEEM headquarters. In February, the new secretary-general of the outlawed UNEEM, Abdul Karim Camara, was elected. Known also by the nickname "Cabral," he was to become a folk hero to protesting students and teachers.

On March 8, 1980, the summit meeting of the Saharan states opened in Bamako. By staging a "peaceful" demonstration, students and teachers were able to embarrass the government. The result was a violent confrontation in Bamako between student and teacher demonstrators and police. Approximately 13 students were shot or bayoneted to death. According to the government, Abdul Karim Camera was arrested while attempting to flee across the border into Guinea. He died shortly afterward in the Camp of the Parachutists at Jirkoroni; according to his supporters he was tortured to death. Some maintain that General Amadou Toumani Touré, who later overthrew President Traoré in March 1991, played a role in this student's death. On March 29, 1980, President Traoré granted clemency to the arrested students and released them from custody. But upper-level schools remained closed, and large numbers of students were indefinitely suspended. The March confrontation effectively destroyed UNEEM. Subsequently, government concessions coupled with student fear of

reprisals against further protest led to a quelling of the protest movement.

Protest was then instigated by the teachers, who were understandably disgruntled by low wages and the government's failure to pay them regularly. On July 1, 1980, primary-school teachers responsible for monitoring student examinations refused to monitor these examinations. Twenty teachers were arrested. The following day, 37 students and teachers were injured when police broke up their peaceful gathering commemorating the death of Abdul Karim Camera. On July 9, 1980, student protestors again instigated by teachers, demonstrated in Sevaré near Mopti. In September 1980, 13 of 20 teachers detained in July were tried in Bamako and given either suspended sentences or sentences ranging up to four months. The teachers who did not receive suspended sentences were sent to Menaka, a remote *cercle* in the extreme east of Mali. In Bamako, between October 6 and 16, 1980, at

the urging of the illegal CCSE, primary-school teachers went on strike to protest the continued detention of teachers at Menaka.

Sensing the growing danger, President Traoré announced in October 1980 that the UDPM had to be revitalized. Most schools were reopened during the following months, but not the Teachers Training Institute and the National School of Administration, where riots had been particularly violent. Between November 13 and 26, 1980, 21 teachers were arrested in Bamako at meetings of the illegal CCSE. In December, they were taken to remote army posts in the Gao *région*. The 12 teachers arrested in September were released from Menaka in December. But on their return, they were stopped in Ségou, sent back to Gao, put at the disposal of the Ministry of the Interior, and sacked. Three of the teachers were allowed to return to Bamako, but the rest were banished to remote areas. Between January and March 1981, 12 teachers were arrested and charged with establishing the CCSE, a secret association.

By early 1981, the government, through concessions and firm action, had quelled both the student and teacher revolts. From one perspective, both were rebellions launched to preserve elitist privileges in a country where the overwhelming majority of the population suffer a far inferior lifestyle. For their part, the students rebelled to retain liberal government financial support while in school and guarantees of government employment after graduation demands frequently expressed through ideological rubrics such as scientific socialist development. The student revolts drew no support from other sectors of Malian society (except from their most proximal co-elitists, the teachers).

Teachers had a legitimate complaint, namely, the government's failure to pay them on time. But so did civil servants who did not strike.

Better organized, better educated, more radicalized, and equipped with a nationwide communications network, teachers were able to protest grievances than smaller groups of civil servants. *See* WESTERN SUDAN; FRENCH SUDAN.

#### SUFI, SUFISM.

Mystical orders in Islam called brotherhoods, usually founded by an individual mystic venerated by his followers. The orders are offensive to orthodox Moslems who are opposed to such brotherhoods. They emerged in the first century after the establishment of Islam in traditions that are characteristically orthodox and legalistic. The Qadiri, arriving in the fifteenth century, was the first order introduced into West Africa. The Tijani was founded in Morocco in the late eighteenth century and brought down into West Africa where its rapid spread was due to its association with the *jihad* of El Hadj Omar Tall. The Hamalliya, a Tijani offshoot, is another sufi order that is strongest in the *cercles* of Nioro and Yelimané.

SYLLA, DJIM SEYDOU (b. 1933).

Administrator who attended the University of Paris (1951-1954) and the Ecole Nationale de la France Outre-Mer (1954-1957), from which he received a diploma in social sciences. Sylla served in a variety of administrative positions in Mali, including director of civil service in 1960 and principal private secretary to the minister of planning, economic and financial coordination (1961-1965). From 1965 to 1973, he served as secretary-general of the European Economic Community Associate Countries and then as secretary-general of the African, Caribbean, Pacific States Group (1973-1975). He was later appointed special counselor to the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, a position which he continues to hold.

SYLLA, GARANKE MAMOU (1911-1988).

Famous *dyeli* who served both presidents Keita and Traoré. He translated a number of their speeches whenever they toured rural areas.

T

TADMEKKA.

A large Tuareg settlement and market in what is now northeastern Mali that once flourished in the Adar of Iforas hills. For many years, Tadmekka was the emporium of the early Songhay kingdom at Gao to which salt from the Taghaza mines was brought. The settlement reached its zenith in the eleventh century and was noted as a center of Moslem learning. Its decline was probably gradual and associated with the fortunes of the old Gao kingdom of Songhay. Eventually, the salt traffic from Taghaza destined for the Niger Bend moved directly southward and stimulated the development of Timbuctoo. A number of early Tuareg settlers in Timbuctoo probably emigrated from Tadmekka. See SONGHAY EMPIRE; TIMBUCTOO.

## TAGHAZA SALT MINES.

Salt mines located approximately 500 miles north of Timbuctoo in what is now the most northern part of Mali. Exploitation of these mines began well before 1000 A.D., the salt being carried on camels southeast to Tadmekka and then southwest to Gao. The Tuareg were in charge of this trade from the earliest times. About 1100 A.D., the trade shifted directly southward to Timbuctoo, which was more advantageously located for Saharan-Sudan trade.

The Maghsharen Tuareg controlled Taghaza until the mines' abandonment in 1596. Beginning during the reign of the Songhay Askia Ishaq II (1539-1549), the Taghaza mines became a focal point of provocation against Songhay by the Sadide dynasty of Morocco. He repulsed the Moroccans by sending 2,000 Tuareg cemeleers to plunder the prosperous southern Moroccan town of Bani Sabih. The

Moroccans tried to invade Songhay, but their attempt failed. In 1556 and 1557, the Sultan Mohammed el Shaikh again provoked Songhay at Taghaza, this skirmish resulting in temporary closure of the mines. In 1585, during the reign of Askia El Hadj Mohammed, the Moroccans occupied Taghaza with 200 soldiers. The Songhay then opened new mines to the east at Taoudeni, which were under the control of the Berabich Arabs. Eventually the Moroccans withdrew, and the mines were reopened. In 1590, however, el Mansur, the Moroccan sultan, again used Taghaza as a point of provocation, demanding a tax on each load of salt carried to Songhay. A series of events then led to the Moroccan invasion of Songhay. The mines were finally abandoned in 1596, salt then coming from Taoudeni, where it is still currently mined. In 1352, Ibn Batuta, the Arab traveler, passed through Taghaza on his way from Siljilmasa to Mali.

#### TAKEDDA.

During the time of the Mali and Songhay empires, an important commercial town and the site of noted copper mines. The Arab traveler Ibn Batuta passed through the town in 1353. Some scholars believe that Takedda was located between Agades and Gao in present-day Teguida. Takedda gradually lost its commercial importance as the trans-Saharan trade routes shifted westward to Timbuctoo. In 1959, Raymond Mauny believed he had discovered the remains of these copper mines at Azelik, in Niger.

#### TALL DYNASTY.

*See* EL HADJ OMAR TALL; AMADOU TALL; SEGOU TUKULOR EMPIRE.

#### TALL, MOUNTAGA.

Lawyer, and prodemocracy leader who also served as secretary-general of the Malian bar. In 1990, he helped to found CNID, a

prodemocracy group which later became a political party. As the leader of CNID, he helped to organize protests against the government of President Traoré, but in February 1991 left Mali after threats against his life from elements within the Traoré government. After Traoré was toppled in a March 26, 1991, coup d'etat, he played a major role in putting pressure on the military to relinquish power and move the country toward free elections. CNID was included on the CTSP in recognition of its role in the overthrow of the Traoré regime.

He presented himself for the presidency as CNID's candidate and in the first round of the election on April 12, 1992, won 11.41% of the vote. In the second round of legislative elections held on March 8, 1992, Tall's CNID won only nine of 129 seats in the National Assembly.

Following student riots in the Spring of 1993, the government of Younoussi Touré resigned. The new prime minister, Abdoulaye



Sékou Sow, quickly gave three ministerial portfolios to CNID to quell charges that ADEMA, President Konaré's party, was dominating Mali's political life and was indifferent to the views of the opposition.

Tall has been a highly respected spokesperson for the political opposition in Mali during the Konaré presidency.

#### TAOUARDEI DECLARATION AND CONGRESS.

A declaration made on October 31, 1992, at Taouardei in the Gao *région* by the Front Pour la Libération de l'Azaouad supporting the National Pact of April 1992 that brought the Tuareg-Mali government conflict to a negotiated settlement.

The Taouardei Congress elected Zahabi Ould Sidi Mohamed, the then assistant commissioner for the north, as head of the movement. It established a 12-member coordinating committee and the 40-member Azaouad Consultative Council, elected new members to the National Pact Monitoring and Cease-Fire Commission, and designated soldiers from the Front Populaire de Libération de l'Azaouad for inclusion in joint patrols. Ali Nouhoun Diallo, the President of the National Assembly, spoke before the Congress.

The importance of the Taouardei Congress was that it gave further support to the fragile truce, which had already been broken several times, and created Tuareg-dominated administrative infrastructures that satisfied many of the rebels' demands. See TUAREG REVOLT OF 1990-1992.

#### TAOUDENI (also, Taoudenni).

The Saharan salt mines of Mali situated 700 kilometers to the north of Timbuctoo. These mines were discovered in the sixteenth century after the Moroccans closed the Taghaza fields further north.

Traditionally, salt was carried down to Timbuctoo on two large annual

caravans called Azalais. At one time, there were as many as 4,000 camels in a caravan. The mines were controlled by the Arabs and worked by black African slaves. Today workers are paid. The salt trade between Taoudeni and Timbuctoo once constituted an important element in the commercial life of Timbuctoo. However, the salt trade has gradually declined in importance. Between 1960 and 1988, political prisoners were sent to work in the mines at Taoudeni.

The best contemporary description of Taoudeni is provided by Richard Trench, a British journalist and traveler who gained entry to the area in 1974 when he came down from Tindouf in Algeria. The vivid account of his remarkable journey (and of Taoudeni) is contained in his book *Forbidden Sands: A Search in the Sahara* (1978). More recently, Ernst Aebi has described Taoudeni in his book *Seasons of Sand* (1993).

Trench describes the Taoudeni salt pans as about 10 miles square. The present military fort, built by the French, stands next to a recently constructed concrete blockhouse. Nearby are the ruins of a Songhay fort constructed in the sixteenth century. The town of Taoudeni, which has moved several times around the salt pan in recent decades, consisted of 2,000 men living in hovels constructed of salt slabs, which were covered with corrugated steel and cardboard.

The mines themselves consist of holes 20 feet deep and 30 feet square, spread out over several acres. The salt is removed in thin tombstone-shaped blocks and stored in a nearby transit area for transport to Timbuctoo. Aebi states that once the salt is removed from one stratum, workers tunnel in all directions. He estimated that there were about a 100 or so workers and a few patrons when he visited the mines in 1990. According to Trench, the population in 1974 consisted of few workers who were there voluntarily. In essence, most workers were prisoners, debtors who had been sent to work off their debts, juvenile delinquents, and petty criminals. The debtors worked September through May but left for Timbuctoo and Araouane during the remaining months. Mostly from the Timbuctoo area, they worked five days for either the state or their creditors and two days for themselves, using their funds to buy tea, rice, sugar, and tobacco brought in by traders at inflated prices. The political prisoners were kept at a separate camp five kilometers away. Thus, there were three Taoudenis at the time. It has been reported that the political prisoners were required to walk from their camp to the mines each way every day, a distance of a few kilometers. While the Modibo Keita regime often sent political prisoners to Kidal, the Traoré government generally sent its political prisoners particularly military officers who attempted to overthrow the government to Taoudeni. Living conditions there were so severe that deaths from heat exposure and exhaustion,

malnutrition, and disease were common among prisoners. In 1988 President Moussa Traoré closed the Taoudeni salt mine prison.

#### TARIKH EL FETTACH.

An historical work believed by most scholars to have been written from notes made by a Soninké scholar of Timbuctoo, Mohammed Kati, who accompanied Askia Mohammed on his pilgrimage to Mecca. The first version of the work was written by Kati's son Ismail. The manuscript was written in the sixteenth century and describes the Ghana empire, Mali empire, Diarra kingdom, the reign of Askia Mohammed of Songhay, and the Moroccan invasion of the western Sudan. The full title of this book is *Tarikh [book] el Fettach [Searcher] or History For The Use of One Who Seeks Knowledge of The History of The Cities, Armies and Principal Personages of Tekroun*. Word of the existence of this work reached early colonial ad-

ministrators and travelers, but the Moslem scholars of Djenné and Timbuctoo maintained that all copies had been destroyed during the reign of Cheikou Amadou. Felix Dubois, the French traveler who visited Timbuctoo in the late nineteenth century, had heard of the book but was unable to obtain a copy. In 1911, Bonnel de Mézières, a French official on a mission in the north of what is now Mali, was shown an incomplete manuscript from the library of a Timbuctoo scholar, Sidi Mohammed el Imam bes Es-Soyouti. Under Sidi Mohammed's supervision, De Mézières had the manuscript copied; eventually, it was sent to the School of Oriental Languages in Paris where it was seen by Octave Houdas, who asked de Mézières if he could obtain Sidi Mohammed's copy, as de Mézières' copy seemed poorly transcribed in many areas. Sidi Mohammed's copy was sent. Still, the beginning of the manuscript was missing. In 1912, Brévié a French administrator, told Houdas that he had had an Arabic manuscript copied in Kayes. On examining the manuscript, Houdas saw that it was the *Tarikh el Fettach*, with the first portion relatively intact. From these three copies, Houdas and his son-in-law, Maurice Delafosse, translated the work into French. Both Arabic and French versions were published in 1913. Scholars have learned that emendations were made on one of the manuscripts used by Houdas and Delafosse, namely the one procured in Kayes. These changes tried to justify the servile status of certain groups along the Niger on the basis of historical precedent. The alterations were probably made during the first half of the nineteenth century at the time of the theocratic rule of the Peul of Macina.

#### TARIKH ES SUDAN.

An historical work of great significance, written during the first half of the seventeenth century probably by Es Sadi of Timbuctoo. *Tarikh es Sudan* is one of the most important historical texts written about the

western Sudan. It describes the Songhay empire in great detail and draws upon previous works, that have now perished the biographical dictionary of Ahmed Baba and the *El Kebur*. *The Tarikh Es Sudan* was discovered in Guandu, Nigeria, in 1853 by Heinrich Barth. There are several surviving manuscript copies, three of which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Unlike the *Tarikh el Fettach*, the existence of the *Tarikh es Sudan* was well known to European explorers. Barth wrongly assumed it had been written by Ahmed Baba and was no doubt looking for a copy of it when he came upon the work in Guandu. The book was obviously widely distributed in the Arab-speaking parts of Africa. The 1900 Houdas French translation is based on three manuscripts. The first of these was procured by General Louis Archinard and sent to the Bibliothèque Nationale; this manuscript was written in or about 1800. The

second manuscript was one that Felix Dubois had copied in Timbuctoo in 1896; it is quite similar to the first manuscript. The third copy was sent to Houdas by René Basset of the School of Letters in Algiers, who had received it from Dr. Tautain. This latter copy is the most complete of the three. Recent scholars are of the opinion that the real author of the *Tarikh el Fettach* was Mahmoud Umar Aqit (or a close relative). See AHMAD BABA; AQIT.

#### TENENKOU.

A small *cercle* of the Mopti *région* situated in the flood plains of the inland delta. Most of its 130,000 inhabitants are engaged in livestock raising, subsistence farming, or fishing. The village of Tenenkou has a population of 4,000. Containing 6,000 inhabitants, the largest town is Dia, the former capital of the Peul kingdom. Diafarabé, situated on a promontory where the Diaka swings away from the Niger, is an important center. The antilocus campaign, OICMA, has its headquarters at Kara, across the Diaka from Diafarabé.

#### TIEBA TRAORE (1845-1893).

King of Kéné Dougou from 1877 to 1893. Founder of the city of Sikasso, Tieba Traoré is viewed as the greatest of the Kéné Dougou kings. He was the military genius and adroit diplomat who expanded his possessions and successfully repelled the Ouattara of Kong and Bobo-Dioulasso and Samory Touré. He dealt advantageously with the French who, giving him an army headed by Captain Quiguanon, rescued him from a 15-month siege with Samory (1887-1889). On January 27, 1893, Traoré died at Bama near Bobo-Dioulasso. He was succeeded by his brother Babemba. See KENEDOUGOU KINGDOM.

#### TIEFOLO DIARRA.

King of Ségou (1827-1839). He was a son of Monson Diarra, who

succeeded his brother Da Monson Diarra. During his reign, El Hadj Omar Tall, the future *imam* warrior and head of the Tukulor empire, passed through Ségou in 1838 on his return from Mecca. Tiefolo had El Hadj Omar put in irons and imprisoned. Though he was finally released through the intercession of a local Moslem, Tierno-Abdoul, El Hadj Omar never forgave the Diarra dynasty for his humiliation. See SEGOU KINGDOM; DA MONSON DIARRA; MONSON DIARRA; DIARRA DYNASTY, TABLE 3.

#### TIJANI BROTHERHOOD.

Founded in Fez, Morocco, by Ahmad el Tijani (1737-1815). The brotherhood is a Sufi order that was popularized in what is now Mali by El Hadj Omar Tall and his followers in the nineteenth century. The appeal of the Tijaniya is that it does away with the extensive spiritual chains of authority found in other brotherhoods. Tijani claimed to have had revelations from God and



Mohammed. El Hadj Omar used the Tijaniya as a rallying organization for his crusade against French expansion in West Africa. He also came into conflict with prominent Qadiri leaders in the western Sudan, such as Amadou Amadou of Macina and Sidi el Bekaye of Timbuctoo. Following his death in 1864, his followers and disciples spread the Tijaniya throughout what is now Mali. The Tijaniya became particularly popular in trading centers and also along the rail line from Senegal. An offshoot of the Tijaniya is the Hamalliya.

#### TIJANI TALL.

A nephew of El Hadj Omar Tall who, after the death of El Hadj Omar, assumed control and leadership in the conquered Peul Macina empire. By 1864, Tijani Tall had reconquered most of Macina and made Bandiagara his capital. He was an astute ruler and wise administrator, basically retaining the infrastructure established in 1818 by Peul emperor Cheikou Amadou, which grew from Amadou's idea of Islamic government. Tall maintained good relations with the Dogon, permitting them much autonomy. Amadou Tall, the Tukulor ruler of Ségou, was never able to exert control over Tijani. Tijani died around 1887, and was succeeded by Muniru, who eventually deferred to Amadou Tall of Ségou when Tall was driven out of Ségou in 1890.

#### TIMBUCTOO.

(1) In northern Mali, a city of 15,000 people, which was founded in the eleventh century as a seasonal camp for Tuareg nomads.

According to legend, this camp had been entrusted to an old woman named Buctoo. The name Timbuctoo comes from the Tuareg word *tim*, meaning "that belonging to" and the name Buctoo.

In 1336, Kankan Moussa passed through the town on his way back from Mecca and had the great mosque known as Dyingerey Ber built

by his Andalusian architect, Ibrahim es Saheli. Kankan Moussa sent local scholars to study in Fez. In 1468, Timbuctoo fell to Sonni Ali Ber, the Songhay emperor. Under Askia the Great, the town became a center of trade and learning and prospered under the political and military protection of the Songhay.

In 1591, the Moroccans invaded the western Sudan and brought an end to Timbuctoo's prosperity. Djouder, an Andalusian eunuch who headed the Moroccan expedition, sacked Timbuctoo, executed some of its scholars, and sent the remainder off across the Sahara to Fez. Many died en route. Djouder made Timbuctoo his administrative center. The invaders eventually intermarried with the local population, and their descendants known as the Arma ruled the city. In time, the Arma came to rule only on the sufferance of the Tuareg, who looted the city periodically.

By the eighteenth century, the once flourishing trans-Saharan trade was greatly diminished, due in part to a shift of gold and slaves to the

new European trading stations established on the coast. Timbuctoo fell, successively, under the rule of the Bambara, Tuareg, Peul, and finally, the French, who captured it in 1894. The lack of direct European observation of Timbuctoo, as well as its location across a hostile Moslem world and miles of desert, generated an aura of mystery around the city. Between 1588 and 1853, 43 Europeans tried to reach it. Only five (Adams, Laing, Park, Caillié, and Barth) were successful.

The city today is built mostly of gray mud brick covered over with a stucco of gray mud. The population is mixed, consisting of Songhay, Peul, Tuareg, Maure, and other ethnic groups. Although salt from Taoudeni still comes through Timbuctoo on camels as it has for centuries the town is no longer a major trading center and has not experienced much growth in modern times; indeed, it is much smaller than it was at its apogee. The city is the *chef-lieu* of a *cercle* of the same name.

(2) A *cercle* of 100,000 inhabitants exclusively of the city of Timbuctoo. Most of the population are Songhay farmers and Tuareg nomads. In the northern part of the *cercle* are the Taoudeni salt mines where salt is still mined in large tombstone-shaped slabs. In recent years, political prisoners have been sent to Taoudeni. The *cercle* has seven *arrondissements*. Araouane, a small settlement 257 kilometers to the north of Timbuctoo, was once a stopover point for caravans on their way to or returning from Taoudeni. Timbuctoo is still a modest center of Islamic learning. See BOITEAUX; BONNIER; JOFFRE; SONGHAY EMPIRE; TAOUDENI.

(3) A *région* created in 1977 by grouping former *cercles* of the Gao *région*. These *cercles* include Diré, Goundam, Timbuctoo, Gourma-Rharous, and Niafunké. The latter, once part of the Mopti *région*, lost

the *arrondissement* of Youvarou, which was made into a *cercle* of Mopti. The *région* of Timbuctoo has a population of 550,000.

#### TOMINIAN.

A small *cercle* in the *région* of Ségou covering 6,563 square kilometers and having a population of 130,252 people, most of whom are Bobo-Oulé farmers. In 1916, a serious revolt occurred against the French in reaction to forced labor practices and army conscription. Until 1960, the *cercle* of Tominian was a subdivision of the *cercle* of San.

#### TONDIBI, BATTLE OF.

The major deciding battle between the invading Moroccan troops and the forces of the Songhay empire in 1591. The Songhay army consisted of about 18,000 cavalry and 9,000 infantry armed with spears and bows and arrows. The Moroccans numbered only about 4,000 but were equipped with firearms. The

Songhay were routed; as a consequence, their empire fell. *See* MOROCCAN INVASION.

TON DJON. Literally meaning "slave of the ton," the *ton djon* were originally slaves of Biton Coulibaly's *ton* (age set association). Eventually, Biton made slaves even of the free men of his *ton*. He added to the size of this body by taking slaves in military operations and by paying fines for criminals who were then made *ton djon*. During Coulibaly's reign the *ton djon* became a permanent military class and a standing army frequently involved in capturing slaves for the Atlantic slave trade. Later, captured enemy soldiers were often made members of the *ton djon*. The *ton djon* eventually became a significant force in the politics of the kingdom. They deposed and elected kings from among their own ranks. One of the most famous *ton djon* leaders was Bakari Dian Koné. Koné fought under Da Monson, who ruled as king from 1808 to 1827. *See* COULIBALY DYNASTY; SEGOU KINGDOM; BITON COULIBALY.

TON MASSA.

A leader of the *ton djon* under Biton Coulibaly. He participated along with Kaniouba-Niouma, another *ton djon* leader, in the removal of Bakari (Ali) Coulibaly. Ton Massa, whose name means "chief of the regular army," moved his capital from Ségou-Koro south to Ngoi because he could not bring himself to live in the same place where his former king, Dikoro Coulibaly, had been killed. In fact, Ton Massa wanted to move farther south into the Miniankala from where he came, probably because he feared assassination in Ségou-Koro. Ton Massa's arch rival, Kaniouba-Niouma, who remained in Ségou, tried to induce him to return to the capital. Ton Massa, however, moved south in an effort to put down a revolt. During a battle at Konguéré, he was wounded by an arrow in the ear and carried back to Ngoi where he died. Other oral traditions maintain that he was killed by the

partisans of Kaniouba-Niouma because he wanted to construct a canal from the Niger to Ngoian act of clear madness, some said. This account was probably an attempt to rationalize Ton Massa's removal. He was replaced by Kafa-Diouga, another *ton djon* leader. *See* COULIBALY DYNASTY; SEGOU KINGDOM; TON DJON.

TOURE, ALI FARKE.

Guitarist who began his career in 1950 playing a single-string guitar in Niafunké. He later played a single-stringed fiddle known locally as the *n'jarka*. He was introduced to the six-string guitar by Salif Keita and introduced a blues element into his music. He collaborated with British musicians on an album, *The River*, and now regularly performs with an electric guitar. He has been

on successful tours in Europe and Africa. Touré is a leading example of a traditional bard with decades of experience in traditional instruments and music who has made a rapid and successful transition to modern musical instruments. *See DYELI.*

TOURE, AMADOU TOUMANI (1948- ).

Military officer, lieutenant colonel and, later, general and Mali's third president (March 26, 1991-June 8, 1992), Touré led the March 26, 1992, coup d'etat that ousted General Moussa Traoré. Born in Mopti, Touré first studied to be a history and geography teacher, entering the Ecole Militaire Interarmes at Kati in 1969. In 1972 he graduated as a lieutenant and then studied at Riazan in the former Soviet Union and later at Pau in France. In 1978, he was promoted to captain in the 33rd parachute battalion and became a commander in 1985. During the early 1980s, he served as commander of the presidential guard. In 1986, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and in 1990 spent several months of study at the Ecole Supérieur de Guerre in Paris.

On the night of March 25-26, 1991, following days of violent rioting in Bamako organized by trade unionists, students, the unemployed, trade unionists, and prodemocracy groups, Touré led an army coup d'etat against President Traoré. Touré and 24 other military officers then announced the formation of the Conseil de Réconciliation Nationale (CRN) and the dissolution of the government, legislature, the UDPM, and the 1974 constitution.

Touré and his fellow officers staged what some observers perceived as an opportunistic coup d'etat. Taking advantage of the chaos caused by daily rioting and assessing that popular anger was largely directed toward Traoré and his regime, they hoped to seize power for themselves under the guise of restoring order and promising democratic elections in the future. However, they miscalculated the

strength and determination of the prodemocracy movement and the position of Western donors that the military could no longer rule in Mali. Others believe that Touré acted out of a genuine desire to end the escalating violence and chaos and that, whatever his original intentions, he never intended to hold on to power. The prodemocracy groups quickly told Touré and the military that they had not worked hard to bring down Traoré in order to make way for a new military regime. They also threatened to resume the violent protests, this time directing them toward the new military government. Faced with this threat and warnings that Western aid would be suspended if democracy were not promoted, Touré and his group had no choice but to set a time-table for returning to their barracks. After negotiations with prodemocracy groups, the CRN was disbanded on March 31 and in its place a Comité de Transition Pour le Salut du Peuple (CTSP) organized with 10



military and fifteen civilian members. The purpose of this group, chaired by Touré, was to oversee the transition to a democratically elected civilian government.

Soumana Sacko a former minister of finance, who had resigned from the Traoré government, was chosen as prime minister.

Touré and the CTSP immediately inherited some of the serious problems that had confronted Traoré, especially the Tuareg insurrection in the north. Touré showed strong leadership in attempting to resolve the Tuareg problem and with his guidance negotiations moved forward, resulting in a National Pact that was signed on April 12, 1992. Touré also moved rapidly to organize a National Conference, which took place between July 29-August 12, 1991. A new constitution was approved on January 12, 1992, and municipal elections held a week later. Legislative elections took place on February 24 and March 8, 1992, and presidential elections on April 12 and 26, 1992, with Alpha Oumar Konaré of ADEMA being elected president.

Touré left the presidency on June 8, 1992, when Konaré assumed the office. During his 15-month presidency, he demonstrated strong leadership in moving Mali forward to multiparty democracy and in bringing the Tuareg rebellion to a peaceful settlement. During his tenure, political parties were formed, free elections held, and a new president elected. During his term, Touré became extremely popular with the public and was affectionately known as "ATT." In part, his popularity was due to the limited character of his tenure, during which he did not have to confront or attempt to resolve such volatile domestic issues as student stipends, civil service employment, and salary increases for trade unionists. Rather, his efforts were concentrated on solidifying regional relations, resolving the Tuareg

conflict, and moving Mali forward toward free democratic elections, efforts certain to make him popular with the Malian public.

On August 5, 1992, Touré was granted personal immunity for all acts and deeds for the period when he entered the military in 1969 until he retired as president on June 8, 1992. This was intended to protect him from possible future prosecution for his role in suppressing the 1979-1980 student protests and in the death of student leader Abdul Karim Camara (popularly known as "Cabral").

The power and determination of prodemocracy student and union groups and the warnings of major Western donors, especially France, left Touré with no other choice but to move Mali forward toward democracy. In doing so and in bringing the Tuareg insurrection to a peaceful conclusion, he demonstrated great leadership abilities. He also took a strong stand against those in the military who opposed the democraticization process, some of whom attempted a coup d'etat on July 15, 1991. Touré won wide respect at home and abroad during his

brief term as Mali's third president. If Mali's attempts at democratic government fail, it is not inconceivable that the people would turn to the man who they perceive as the democratic soldier. In 1992, following a visit of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter to Mali in connection with the world campaign against guinea worm, Touré agreed to oversee Mali's Guinea Worm Eradication Program, to which the U.S. Agency for International Development later provided \$1 million.

TOURÉ, YOUNOUSSI (1941- ).

Born in the Timbuctoo region, Touré studied economics in Dakar and Abidjan and in 1983 became director general of the Central Bank of Mali, which in 1984 was taken over by the Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. On June 9, 1992, President Konaré appointed him prime minister. Largely a technocrat, Touré put together a cabinet primarily aimed at dealing with Mali's serious economic problems. ADEMA domination of the National Assembly, discontent among the ranks of the political opposition, and the unmet demands of students led to constant student protests beginning in October 1992, which eventually toppled Touré's government on April 9, 1993.

TRAITANT.

A petty trader in the precolonial and colonial eras. Often traitants were *métis*, Africans or Lebanese who took goods on credit from French traders associated with the large trading house and sold them in more remote areas. They also purchased locally produced goods and returned to give their patrons these goods. Traitant activity in Mali was concentrated in the western part of the country in what is now the *région* of Kayes.

TRAORE, DOMINIQUE AMADOU (1890?-1972).

Renowned ethnographer and expert on West African herbal medicine.

Traoré was born in northern Nigeria and placed in indigenous slavery when he was a child. He graduated from the Ecole Normale of Saint-Louis in Senegal and spent many years serving as a teacher in Upper Volta, Mali, Niger, and Ivory Coast at the same time he was engaging in extensive studies of indigenous herbal medicines. Traoré was attached to the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire after returning as a teacher. His last published works, done in conjunction with Pascal James Imperato, dealt with traditional treatments for smallpox and measles. Traoré was an officer of the French Legion of Honor, a knight of the National Order of Mali, of the National Order of Upper Volta, and of the Order of the Black Star of Benin.

TRAORE, DOSSOLO (El Hadj) (b. 1915).

Merchant and politician. He was born in Kolokani. From March 1952 to September 1960, he

served as a deputy to the Territorial Assembly of the Sudan and its successor, the Legislative Assembly of the Sudanese Republic. From 1960 to 1962, he was a deputy to the National Assembly of Mali and general treasurer of the National Political Bureau of the Union Soudanaise-RDA. He has served as president of the Bamako Chamber of Commerce and as director-general of the Société Malienne de Sacherie. He also operates a number of businesses in Mali.

#### TRAORE DYNASTY.

A family of Dioula who, in the late sixteenth century, expanded their control in the area of Odienné, now the northern Ivory Coast. In the seventeenth century, Nanke Traoré moved to Kangoura, now in Burkina Faso; in 1760, his descendant, Daoula Ba, founded the Kéné Dougou kingdom in what is now southern Mali. This kingdom's borders were later expanded into what is now Burkina Faso and the Ivory Coast. Daoula Traoré, who ruled from 1840 to 1877, greatly expanded the kingdom, which reached its peak under Tieba Traoré. The last king of this dynasty was Babemba Traoré, who was defeated by the French in 1898. *See* KENEDOU GOU; BABEMBA TRAORÉ; TIEBA TRAORÉ; QUIQUANDON.

#### TRAORE, ISSA BABA (b. 1928).

Writer and teacher. He was born in Kita and received his degree in pedagogy. In 1973 he became a technical advisor to the Ministry of Fundamental Teaching, Youth and Sports. Issa Baba Traoré is the author of *Contes et Recits du Terroir* (1970).

#### TRAORE, GEN. MOUSSA (b. 1936).

Former president of Mali (1968-1991) and former secretary-general of the UDPM. He was born in the *région* of Kayes and studied at the Cadet's School in Kati, becoming a noncommissioned officer in the French army. He entered the Fréjus Military College in France and

returned to Mali in 1960. In 1964, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. From 1964 until 1968, Traoré was an instructor at the Military Inter-Services School at Kati, where his superior officer was Captain Yoro Diakité. In the early morning hours of November 19, 1968, he led the group of 14 army officers in a coup d'etat which overthrew the regime of Modibo Keita. He and his men disarmed the Popular Militia, occupied key positions in the city with little bloodshed, and arrested Modibo Keita in mid-morning after he disembarked from a Niger River steamer (the *General Soumare*) at Koulikoro. At noon, Moussa Traoré, then a lieutenant, spoke over Radio Mali for the first time.

On November 21, a provisional government was formed under Captain Yoro Diakité, with Lt. Moussa Traoré as chief of state and president of the Military Committee of National Liberation (CMLN).

In December 1968, Traoré became president of the government, replacing Diakité. The announced intention of Traoré and his military committee colleagues was to straighten out the country's economy and finances. Although they did not directly deal with the question of socialism, their encouragement of foreign investment implied that they favored a mixed economy.

During the first several years, the CMLN did not often address the issue of eventual civilian rule and the formation of political parties, except to say that constitutional civilian rule would be restored as soon as the country's economy and finances were made healthy. During the first few years of his presidency, Traoré was viewed by many outside observers as a first among equals. On April 8, 1971, Traoré announced the expulsion of Captains Diakité and Diallo from the military committee, accusing them of conspiring against the government. The men were later sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor; Diakité, Traoré's main rival, died shortly thereafter.

After Captain Diakite's fall, Moussa Traoré's position appeared strengthened. In 1971, he was promoted to colonel by the CMLN; in 1978, to brigadier general. In 1974, Colonel Traoré announced that a referendum would be held on a new constitution. This referendum took place in June 1974, and the new constitution was overwhelmingly approved. Among other things, it provided for a five-year transition period during which the CMLN would continue to rule the country. Through this political maneuver, Traoré and his military clique held on to power while engaged in what they characterized as gradualism in returning to civilian rule.

Between 1974 and 1979, Traoré moved Mali through this transitory period during which the military committee was programmed for eventual dissolution. Within the military committee, there was clearly

heated debate as to how far to go in sharing power with civilians and restoring them to government. This internal debate considerably slowed Traoré's plans to remain in power through the semblance of civilian rule.

On September 22, 1976, President Traoré issued the statutes of a political party, the Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien. The following year, members of the committee (including the president) traveled throughout the country to explain how the new party would work. During that year, the military released a number of former Keita associates. By January 1978, with the UDPM well on its way to formation, Traoré announced the release of all political detainees. Within the committee there was hard-line resistance to including civilians in the power structure. Most of this resistance came from Lt. Col. Kissima Doukara, minister of defense, security and the interior, and Lt. Col. Tiecoro Bagayoko, director of Security Services. Like Traoré



and other members of the CMLN, they had been involved in massive corruption and the theft of public funds. In January 1978, Traoré allegedly confronted Doukara with evidence of his massive embezzlement of drought-relief funds and tried unsuccessfully to have the military committee remove him from his ministerial position. Doukara, Bagayoko, and two other members of the committee, along with many other officers, then planned a coup d'etat. They were arrested and sentenced during two separate court proceedings in 1978. Their removal from the military committee left Traoré essentially unchallenged within that body. On June 9, 1979, general elections were held. Traoré was overwhelmingly voted president, and the 82 UDPM candidates were elected to a newly constituted National Assembly. The military committee effectively dissolved itself on June 28, 1979, when some of its remaining members became members of the Central Committee of the UDPM. Traoré had effectively shifted his power base from a narrow military committee to a broadbased, grassroots political party of which he was secretary-general. In essence, the military, though now in civilian garb, was still in control of the country's affairs. Yet the sharing of power at various levels with civilians represented a marked change over the situation that had existed when the committee first came to power.

During late 1979 and throughout most of 1980, Traoré was confronted by violent demonstrations precipitated first by students and then by teachers, the former protesting attempts to create more difficult hurdles for obtaining what had become almost guaranteed government jobs for graduates of higher education. Teachers protested the failure of the government to pay them because, during this period, Mali was generally unable to meet its payroll on time.

In early 1981, Traoré announced the discovery of a plot by junior officers to assassinate him. Known as the "Coup des Gendarmes"

because it was primarily organized by officers of that group, the plot represented one of five coup attempts made against Traoré.

Throughout the 1980s, Traoré was beset by overwhelming economic problems, an inflated bureaucracy, and a broad range of loss-producing parastatals. When management and efficiency attempts had run their course, Traoré under pressure from the International Monetary Fund and other donors moved in the direction of shifting to a free-enterprise economic system. This shift was put into high gear in 1983 by effecting the appropriate processes within the UDPM and the government. In 1984, Traoré was finally successful in getting Mali admitted to UMOA, and in June of that year, the Mali Franc was replaced by the CFA Franc.

In national elections held on June 9, 1985, Traoré was re-elected to the presidency by 99.94% of voters for a second six-year term. The

major domestic issues for him at this time were economic reform, the promotion of the private sector, and achieving self-sufficiency in food production. Under pressure from the IMF and World Bank, Traoré pushed a privatization policy that came into direct conflict with the interests of an inflated bureaucracy, unprofitable parastatals, and students who viewed government jobs after graduation as an entitlement. As unprofitable parastatals were dissolved, their employees joined the ranks of the angry unemployed, unable to find positions in a small private sector. Their numbers grew throughout the late 1980s, swelled by unemployed school graduates.

In 1987 and 1988, the government's inability to pay its employees on time became a major political issue. Purposeful pay lags were only partially responsible. The significant causes were incompetence and corruption. By this time, corruption, barely visible during the Keita regime, had become rife, permeating virtually every level of government. The principal culprits were Traoré and his military cronies, who embezzled enormous sums from the public treasury as well as foreign financial aid. In an attempt to shift the public focus to scapegoats, the 1986 UDPM congress adopted a national charter to encourage morality in public life. In February 1987, Traoré appointed Soumana Sacko as minister of finance with a mandate to root out corruption. Within a few months, Sacko's effective anticorruption measures and his payment of civil servants on time made him the most popular man in the country. However, his campaign touched many powerful interests and in August 1987 he resigned. Angered by limited employment opportunities, by the flagrant corruption of the Traoré regime, and by the rule of a dictatorship which passed itself off as democratic civilian rule, Malians began to challenge Traoré's authority. Student and union protests became common, met by the government with a combination of force and concessions.

In June 1986, Traoré created the position of prime minister, filled by his personal physician, Mamadou Dembélé. However, in June 1988 he abolished the post because it had no real authority in government. That year, Traoré became Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and made a state visit to the United States.

As a client state of the former Soviet Union and the Communist countries of eastern Europe, Mali was significantly affected by the collapse of these regimes. President Mitterand's linkage of foreign aid to democratization in 1990 plus events in eastern Europe and elsewhere in Africa forced Traoré to begin a discussion of the issue. This he did in a series of conferences initiated in late March. However, in attempting to hold on to power, he framed the discussion in terms of the exercise of democracy within the UDPM, an option initially acceptable to the French. By mid-1990, Mali's prodemocracy move-

ment began to take form. Distracted by the violent Tuareg revolt in the north, Traoré initially did little to crush the movement. By early 1991, unwilling to yield power, he remained intransigent and refused to discuss democratization, except at the upcoming UDPM congress, scheduled for late March 1991. Student, union, and prodemocracy protests occurred throughout the first three months of 1991, the most violent in March when Traoré's hard-line minister of territorial administration used military force to beat back protesters. When violent prodemocracy demonstrations took place in Bamako on March 22-24, some 106 people were killed and 708 injured. Following these bloody demonstrations, Traoré agreed to discuss democratization but refused to resign as the majority of people now demanded. On the night of March 25-26, Traoré was overthrown in a coup d'etat led by an old military ally, Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Touré. Thereafter the country quickly moved toward multiparty elections.

Although Traoré's trial was due to begin on June 4, 1992, it did not begin until November 26. Traoré was well represented by a team of a dozen lawyers. He was charged with blood crimes and the deaths of 106 people in the March 1991 riots. On February 12, 1993, he was sentenced to death for his role in the deaths of the 106 people. In 1993, he was re-tried on corruption charges. Bank authorities confirmed that he had \$1 billion in assets in Switzerland. Government investigators charged that he had actually embezzled \$2 billion, an amount equal to Mali's external debt.

Like Modibo Keita before him, Traoré was a dictator. Unlike Keita, he did not rigidly adhere to any political ideology. A pragmatist, his primary objective was to remain in power indefinitely. He sustained his rule with widespread corruption, using embezzled monies from the treasury and foreign aid grants to support his military and civilian allies.

Traoré's domestic and foreign policies were first shaped by consensus within the CMLN (1968-1979). After 1979, they were shaped within the UDPM leadership, which included some of Traoré's old military colleagues. The CMLN did not renounce Modibo Keita's socialism. To have done so would have resulted in economic and social dislocations severe enough to have seriously jeopardized CMLN control. Although the CMLN did take a more practical approach to Keita's policy by improving relations with France, they nonetheless maintained Mali's special relationship with the Soviet Union, China, and the Eastern Bloc.

Even after initiating rule through the UDPM, Traoré moved very cautiously away from Keita's socialist domestic policies; virtually all the urban elite were employed by either the government or the parastatals, consuming 80% of the annual operating budget.  
Continued

French subsidies helped him buy time, but eventually the IMF, the French and others made it clear that they would no longer support an inefficient system that relied on international assistance and transferred most of the country's resources to urban elites. Thus, Traoré muddled through with the old Keita socialist options for as long as he could. The shift to free enterprise promulgated after 1983 came about out of necessity and through pragmatic handling of a situation in which economic collapse was inevitable. It also came about after Traoré had solidified his power on the foundations of limited civilian involvement in government.

In foreign affairs Traoré did not depart markedly from the direction set by Modibo Keita. Mali was nonaligned, but had special relationships with the Eastern Bloc. Under Traoré, Mali fostered good relations with its neighbors. The leading local issue in the decades of the 1970s and 1980s was the border dispute with Upper Volta and the resulting armed conflicts. (*See also* WAR WITH BURKINA FASO.) Traoré and President Thomas Sankara submitted this problem to arbitration by the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

Under Traoré, Mali functioned by means of pragmatism and a heavy reliance on international and bilateral economic aid. The shift toward free enterprise and away from a state-run economy must be seen in that light. The practical options available within the state-run economy had dwindled because foreign donors were unwilling to continue financing it. Also, Mali's enormous dependency on external subsidies made its economic policies extremely vulnerable to donors' and lenders' demands for change. As had so often been the case with policies under Traoré, the major changes in economic policy were espoused by a pragmatic leader aware that he had no other choice.

Traoré's adherence to IMF and World Bank demands created adverse

economic effects for Mali's urban elites and thus hastened his downfall. Students with poor employment prospects, poorly paid trade unionists, and the unemployed galvanized with prodemocracy groups to demand a change in government. Traoré misread the depth and strength of these demands. He had continuously dealt in previous years with student, teacher, and union protests focused on group self-interest. These had been easily handled through a combination of concessions and force. There is strong evidence that he saw the 1990-1991 protests in much the same light. In so doing he seriously misread the situation. What was different this time was the unifying influence of prodemocracy groups and a genuine desire of the Malian people to choose their own leaders.

In contrast to Modibo Keita, Traoré was a benign dictator. Under his regime, Malians enjoyed significant personal freedoms denied



them by Keita and his radical Marxist US-RDA political party. While oppression and privation were the hallmark of Keita's regime, corruption characterized Traoré's years in power. Overall, he provided Mali with political stability and generally complied with IMF and World Bank financial and economic plans. He worked hard to find a peaceful solution to the Tuareg rebellion in the north, but like Keita he supported discriminatory government policies that were partially responsible for the revolt. That he was a highly skilled politician is supported by the fact that he survived purges within the CMLN and several coup attempts and ruled Mali for almost 23 years. See COUP D'ETAT, MARCH 25-26, 1991; PRODEMOCRACY MOVEMENT.

TRAORE, LT. COL. SEKOU.

Military officer and chief of staff under President Modibo Keita. He was arrested on November 19, 1968, by the young officers of the Military Committee of National Liberation and was held in detention until November 6, 1978, when he was released.

TRAORE, SEYDOU (b. 1927).

Born in Sofara, Mopti *région*. Seydou Traoré was educated at the Ecole Nationale de France d'Outre-Mer and at the Orientation à la Fonction Internationale, Paris. He has served in a variety of technical and diplomatic capacities including: director of economic affairs (1961); technical advisor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1962); chief of the legal division (1963); head of the Economic Division (1964); director of cabinet of the Ministry of Cooperation and Technical Assistance (1964); ambassador to Belgium, Sweden, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the European Economic Community (1968-1970); permanent representative to the U.N. (1970-1973); and secretary-general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation (1975-1979). That year, he was appointed again as Mali's permanent representative to the United Nations.

TRAORE, LT. COL. YOUSSEUF (b. 1935).

Military officer born in San and trained at Frejus in France. He helped organize the military coup d'etat against Modibo Keita in 1968 and was a member of the Military Committee of National Liberation.

From 1969 until 1975, he served as minister of information. In 1974, he was given the military grade of *chef de bataillon* by the CMLN and in 1976 promoted to lieutenant colonel. He was brought back into the government in January 1978 when Moussa Traoré shuffled his cabinet after unsuccessfully attempting to oust Lt. Col. Kissima Doukara as defense minister. In 1979, along with remaining members of the CMLN, he became a member of the Central Committee of the UDPM.

#### TRAVELE, MOUSSA. B.

Novelist, ethnographer, scholar, and interpreter, Travélé was born in the late 1800s and served as an interpreter for the French in the French Sudan. For these services he was awarded the Legion of Honor.

Travélé was among the few indigenous people of this time to study and publish on ethnographic subjects, languages, and folklore.

Although he was well known in the Soudan and in France during his lifetime, a number of his writings were never published. His

*Proverbes et contes Bambara* (1923) was among the first such volumes of its kind from the Soudan. He also wrote a French-Bambara dictionary in 1913 and 1954 and several other works, including a study of customs surrounding twins among the Bambara (1931) and a study of the Komo secret society (1929). He collaborated on several studies with the French ethnographer Henri Labouret.

#### TRENTINIAN, GEN. EDGAR DE (1851-1942).

French Soldier and colonial administrator who served from 1895 to 1898 as lieutenant governor of the French Sudan. In 1899, Trentinian served as a member of the Commission for the Reorganization of French West Africa.

#### TUAREG.

A group of Berber nomads who live in northern Mali in the *régions* of Gao, Kidal, and Timbuctoo. They were once a highly structured feudal-like society with three principal classes: Noble (Imochar or Imajeghan), serf (Imrad or Daga), and slave (Iraouellen or Bella). The latter, descendants of black captives taken in raiding expeditions, frequently till land along the Niger. The nobles generally moved with their livestock. This class system essentially broke down under the disruptive influences of the droughts of the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, successive Malian governments made concerted efforts to break it down. This was of significance during the 1990-1992 revolt.

Young Tuareg ignored appeals by traditional leaders to lay down their arms since these elders no longer exercised any authority over them. The Tuareg are matrilineal and the men wear veils, often colored with indigo. Indigo rubs off on the skin, giving it a blue hue. Hence they have been called "The Blue Men of the Sahara."

The Tuareg are distributed in Algeria, Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso. During the 1970s and 1980s many young Malian Tuareg men went to Libya where they became members of the "Islamic Legion" and received military training.

The Tuareg are divided into several tribal groups. Prominent ones in Mali include the Oulliminden, the Iforas, and the Udalan. Their language is known as Tamashek and their writing as Tifinagh.

Accurate census data are lacking on the Tuareg in Mali, not least because they regularly move across international frontiers. It is roughly estimated that there are around 100,000, though Tuareg political

groups put the number at 300,000. *See* TUAREG REVOLT OF 1916; TUAREG REVOLT OF 1990-1992.

TUAREG REVOLT OF 1916.

*See* ANDERAMBOUKANE, FIRHOUN.

TUAREG REVOLT OF 1962.

In 1962, the Iforas Tuareg of northeastern Mali launched an armed revolt. Evidence exists that neighboring Morocco and Algeria initially supported them with arms and supplies. In 1963, the Malian army effectively put down the revolt. The ferocity of this campaign is still well remembered by the Tuareg and others in Mali. Eventually, the Malian army poisoned wells and used aerial bombardment against the rebels. Many Tuareg fled to Algeria. During the 1970-1974 drought, the Tuareg suffered the most, so the government used the drought to political advantage. Officials ignored the famine among the Tuareg until international public opinion made it impossible for them to ignore it any longer. *See* DIBY SILAS DIARRA; DROUGHT, 1970-1974; TUAREG REVOLT OF 1990-1992.

TUAREG REVOLT OF 1990-1992.

In early 1990, armed Tuareg and Maure groups began attacking Malian army units along the Mali-Mauritania border. The Front Populaire de Libération de l'Azaouad (FPLA), a recently formed group, called for the secession of northern Mali and the establishment of a Tuareg and Maure state. The border situation grew so serious that President Traoré flew to Nouakchott on June 7, 1990, to meet with his counterpart.

An immediate cause of this most recent Tuareg rebellion was the expulsion of many Malian Tuareg from Algeria (1986) and Libya (1989), where their families had taken refuge during the drought of 1970-1974. During their years in exile, many young Tuareg men had

been recruited into Libya's "Islamic Legion" and had received sophisticated military training. Some had seen combat with the POLISARIO in the Western Sahara and still others had fought in Chad and Lebanon. Because of Algeria's worsening economy, it was no longer able to host the almost 100,000 Malian Tuareg who had sought refuge there in the early 1970s. President Traoré would later charge that Libya's Colonel Gaddafi had armed the rebels and was behind their revolt. However, there is also evidence that deteriorating economic conditions in Libya (due to United Nations sanctions) resulted in the repatriation of Tuareg.

The return of militarily well-trained young Tuareg to Mali's north coupled with years of mistreatment by successive Malian governments were critical ingredients which fueled the revolt.

Following the revolt of 1962-1965, which the government of

Modibo Keita brutally suppressed, the Tuareg had been exploited and oppressed and their herds frequently confiscated by the government. The Keita government, unable to accommodate a minority, in this case Berbers, encouraged emigration and miscegenation of the Tuareg population. Its principal operative in this program was Diby Silas Diarra, a mentally unstable Army officer and martinet who ruthlessly administered the *cercle* of Kidal, where most Tuareg live. Diarra and his associates consistently violated the Tuareg's civil rights and committed egregious human rights violations, including the summary execution of those suspected of possible subversion.

The severe drought of 1970-1974 greatly affected the Tuareg. Their herds were decimated and human starvation ensued. Although it knew of the Tuaregs' suffering, the Traoré regime initially did nothing to help. As a result, many Tuareg died and others fled to Algeria, Libya, Niger, and Burkina Faso. The Traoré government saw the drought as a natural solution to their intractable problem of dealing with a major and highly independent minority group. However, as word of the Tuaregs' sufferings eventually reached the outside world, the government was forced into permitting a relief operation. Government indifference, however, resulted in large numbers of Tuareg leaving Mali.

Following the drought, the Malian Army, which administered Kidal and adjacent areas, continued to oppress the Tuareg; in fact, administrators stated publicly that a "white population," as the Tuareg were called, had no place in a black African state. These racist policies caused enormous justified resentment and anger among the Tuareg. These policies also marginalized the Tuareg both economically and socially. Given the tenacity with which they held on to their traditional values and attitudes, such policies kept them thoroughly segregated.

Although the Tuareg have always chafed under outside authority, successive Malian governments made few investments on their behalf in either health, education, or development. Statements by the government that the revolt was caused by a Tuareg refusal to submit to black government authority are anachronistic and quite misleading. Such an explanation seeks to deny or trivialize official Malian government oppression of a minority group.

The young military Tuareg who launched this revolt did so because they were forced to return home where they sought to reclaim what was justly theirs and to take vengeance on their oppressors, namely the Malian government and army. Encouraged and armed by Libya, they were able to escalate their claims into one for total independence of the Azawad, a large area of Sahel and desert in northern Mali.

The Tuareg rebellion was not limited to Mali, but also extended to Niger. In both countries several political groups were formed. Those



in Mali included the Front Populaire de Liberation de l'Azaouad, the Mouvement Populaire de l'Azaouad, the Front Islamique de l'Azaouad, and the Armée Revolutionaire de Libération de l'Azaouad. These four groups later formed an umbrella organization called the Front Unifié pour la Defense de l'Azaouad. The name of the latter was changed to Mouvements et Fronts Unifies de l'Azaoud (MFUA) and then in 1992 to Front Pour la Libération de l'Azaoud (FLA).

Unlike the revolt of 1962-1965, which was poorly organized by people lacking in sophisticated military training, this one was directed by strong political groupings whose military wings consisted of trained and experienced guerilla fighters. Re-entering Mali in 1989, some with vehicles and military hardware brought from Libya, they encountered both oppression and government indifference to settling them.

On June 29, 1990, Tuareg commandos under Iyad Ag Ghali, the leader of the MPA, attacked the town of Menaka in order to free several imprisoned Nigerian rebels. Sensing the gravity of this revolt and its threat to the security of his regime, President Traoré quickly sought to bring it to a negotiated settlement. On July 12, the interior ministers of Algeria, Mali, and Niger met in Tamanrasset, in Tuareg country in the south of Algeria, in order to discuss what they euphemistically termed "serious security problems." This was followed by a quadripartite summit on September 8-9, 1990, of the leaders of Algeria, Mali, Niger, and Libya in Djanet in southeastern Algeria. This meeting sought to elaborate strategies for ending the marginalization of the Tuareg. It was in Algeria's interests to do so since its own Tuareg were disaffected by discrimination in employment and by the fact that northern Algerians viewed them as inferiors. In 1986 the Algerians had unsuccessfully tried to force these nomads to stay in one place, to carry identity cards, and to register

with the police. They also began to expel Tuaregs who were not their own, mainly because of worsening economic problems. The Djanet Summit abandoned attempts to keep the Tuareg in one place. Instead it resolved to monitor and control their movements.

On October 9, 1990, the Malian government published a white paper on the Tuareg revolt. It charged Libya with supporting the rebels and said that the latter were little more than bandits. Yet the government acknowledged the Tuaregs' right to affirm their sociocultural identity. To deal with continued rebel attacks in the north in the regions of Gao and Timbuctoo, the government placed the area under a state of emergency. Despite the positive statements in the white paper, the government continued to propagandize Malians with an anachronistic view of the Tuareg as a "white"-dominated feudal society whose

traditional life is supported by a reliance on black slavery and brigandage. A number of opposition political groups in Mali rejected this portrayal, aware of the breakdown in traditional Tuareg society since the early 1970s. Mali's prodemocracy groups correctly assessed the problem as due to resentments over past oppression, economic grievances, and a sense of being a powerless minority.

As rebel attacks scored victories over Malian army units, Traoré's government articulated conciliatory statements about improving the living conditions of Mali's nomads. The Malian army, poorly trained and equipped for guerilla warfare, suffered serious casualties. They made matters worse through the retaliation killing of innocent Tuareg women and children. These cowardly acts only provoked more attacks from Tuareg military units, which killed 200 soldiers in September near Bouressa.

Traoré devoted more time in late 1990 to the Tuareg rebellion than he did to containing the prodemocracy movement closer to home. Confronted with continual military setbacks and casualties, he realized that direct negotiations with the Tuareg were necessary. With Algeria's help, a meeting was held between government officials and the rebels in January 1991 in Tamanrasset. An agreement was reached to make the Adrar region (mainly the Kidal *cercle*) an autonomous region. The FPLA called for an end to anti-Tuareg discrimination and an end to the military administration of Kidal. On January 6, a fragile peace agreement was reached, and the government agreed to 21 of 28 Tuareg demands. These included devoting a third of the national budget for five years in Tuareg areas, establishing an autonomous region for the Tuareg, and ranks for Tuareg rebels who wished to integrate themselves into the Malian army. Algeria played the role of mediator at this meeting and had credibility with the Tuareg because it had given asylum to rebel units pursued by the Malian army.

On January 12, President Traoré received a delegation of Tuareg representatives and expressed his strong support for the January 6 peace pact. MPA leader Iyad Ag Ghali also supported the pact and paid tribute to Traoré for his reasonableness in the negotiations. Traoré was reasonable in part because he was besieged in Bamako by a growing prodemocracy movement.

The Tamanrasset agreement created a follow-up commission that met in March 4-7 in Gao. As agreed, the government had reduced its military units from 18 to six and had freed 24 Tuareg prisoners. Despite the agreement, splinter groups of Tuareg and Maure continued to harass government troops. On April 6, following the coup d'etat that toppled President Traoré, the Tuareg attacked Tessit in the Gao region. On April 13, the new prime minister, Soumana Sacko, received a Tuareg delegation headed by Iyad Ag Ghali.

As a follow-up to the January 6 Tamanrasset agreement, the *cercle* of Kidal was made a new *région* on May 15. However, the fragility of the Tamanrasset accord was underscored when Tuareg rebels struck in the Mopti *région* on May 12. That same day, blacks in the town of Timbuctoo ransacked Arab-owned shops in reprisal for the theft of the regional health director's car by Tuareg rebels. Between March 26 and May 20, the Tuareg launched seven attacks, the last in Goundam. These attacks were primarily launched by the FPLA, which in a May 16 announcement from Dakar claimed that the army was once again killing Tuaregs, this time with the help of traders. The FPLA accused the government of violating the Tamanrasset accord and of building up its strength. One of the more radical of the Tuareg rebel groups, the FPLA, also put pressure on the interim government to adhere to the Tamanrasset accord. In a conciliatory gesture, the government acquitted 44 Tuareg who had been involved in a May 1990 attack on Tchintabaraden in which 63 people were killed.

At the end of May, the Malian army killed 36 Tuareg civilians, reflecting the continuing cycle of reprisals. Yet a week later, the MPA of Ghali met in Tamanrasset and committed itself to ending hostilities.

In September, President Amadou Toumani Touré, the interim president of Mali, sought the assistance of France, Algeria, Ivory Coast, Libya, and Mauritania in finding a lasting solution to the Tuareg revolt. Attacks continued in the north, at Balle in the northwest on October 3, near Goundam on November 9, on the Gao-Niamey road on November 11, and at Diré on November 15. While widespread, these attacks represented what President Touré characterized as banditry rather than an organized rebellion. Many of these attacks were carried out by MPA dissidents. On December 12 a serious attack in Timbuctoo resulted in 12 deaths, including nine rebels. Among the dead was Mohamedoun Ag Hamani, a former

member of the executive bureau of the UDPM who supported a negotiated settlement.

On December 14, several thousand Malian workers marched in Bamako in support of the peace process. This march was significant in that its participants, in denouncing racism, owned up to the fact that it had been practiced for years against the Tuareg. Touré and his interim government rightly sensed that the January 6 Tamanrasset Pact was unraveling. They therefore laid out a plan for a full-fledged conference involving all the Tuareg groups and held a meeting in Mopti on December 16-18 with the four main rebel groups to prepare for it. Touré and important members of his government attended this meeting, as did representatives from Algeria, Burkina Faso, Libya, Niger, and Mauritania.

A meeting was held in Algiers from January 22-24, 1992, between representatives of the government and the Tuareg groups joined in

their umbrella organization, the MFUA. Chaired by Algeria, acting as mediator, the parties agreed to a truce and to form a joint commission to monitor the truce. The commission included representatives of Algeria and was formally installed in Gao on February 9. The truce agreed upon in January was operable for 30 days from February 9 and renewable. Renewed meetings between all sides were held on February 15-19 in Algiers. Finally on March 25, all sides agreed to a National Pact, which was signed on April 12 in Bamako. The final negotiations bringing about this pact were greatly aided by France and Mauritania. The Bamako ceremony was attended by important delegations from Algeria, Senegal, Egypt, Sudan, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and the Islamic Conference Organization (ICO). Zeidane Ag Sidi Alamine, spokesman for the MFUA, signed for all four Tuareg movements. President Touré of Mali thanked the countries which over the years had accepted Tuareg refugees and expressed the hope that these "sons of Mali" would soon return.

The National Pact was a fragile one and was soon broken. Some 30 armed Tuareg attacked a Norwegian church organization at Gossi, killing four people and kidnapping eight. Following the attack, army troops arrived in Gossi and shot and killed 10 Tuareg, two of whom worked for the Norwegian church relief organization. This retaliatory killing, documented by outsiders, was characteristic of the Malian army's random and indiscriminate killing of innocent Tuareg civilians. On July 24, all four Tuareg rebel groups met with government officials in Ouagadougou. The aim of this meeting was to convince Rissa Sidi Mohammed, the secretary-general of the hard-line FPLA, to implement the provisions of the National Pact. These efforts were not successful.

In late October the FLA held a congress at Taouardei in Gao and issued a declaration, known as the Taouardei Declaration, committing

itself to the National Pact. On February 9, 1993, Mali and Algeria signed an agreement concerning the return of Tuareg refugees. It was estimated that there were from 60,000 to 100,000 Tuareg living in southern Algeria. Two days later, the government and the MFUA signed an agreement concerning the integration of 600 Tuareg into the army. Many saw this agreement as formally ending the rebellion. France had earlier promised 42 all-terrain vehicles and sophisticated communications gear to support the operation of joint Tuareg-army patrols in the north. In April 1993, Tuareg refugees in southern Algeria began to return to Mali. A month later Rhissa Sidi Mohammed of the hard-line FPLA welcomed the return of these refugees, signaling his continuing support for the National Pact.

Throughout 1993 and 1994, Tuareg refugees continued to return to Mali. The success of the National Pact depended on several factors,



including the willingness and ability of the Malian government to integrate the Tuareg minority into national life and to give them a fair share of development efforts. For their part, the Tuareg must continue to want national integration within the context of a degree of local autonomy. The initial success of the National Pact depended on foreign aid, especially from France, to meet a number of Tuareg demands and the continued support of Algeria, the guarantor of the peace accord. The difficulties of achieving the objectives of the National Pact were illustrated by continued attacks by armed Tuareg dissidents throughout 1994 and 1995. The pact effectively collapsed in June 1994 when three of the Tuareg organizations withdrew their men from the Malian army. In addition, the FLA and the government failed to reach an agreement by mid-1994 on the number of Tuareg to be integrated into the military. Throughout 1994 and into 1995, the FIAA continued military attacks in the north, often in response to army reprisal killings of Tuareg civilians. A major reason for the continuation of the conflict into 1995 was the government's inability to control its armed forces, which operated by their own rules in the north and engaged in reprisal killings of Tuareg civilians. The Tuareg also continued to receive support from Libya and other groups. As a result, they had access to a significant flow of arms.

The Tuareg are a highly independent people. Due to the 1970-1974 drought, the young men who returned in 1989 and spearheaded the rebellion had little respect for the traditional authority of their elders. And because Tuareg leaders are unable to completely control their young, future rebellions are always possible, especially if economic development does not move forward as planned and if governments in nearby countries encourage Tuareg demands for the independence of the Azawad. *See AZAWAD; CHRONOLOGY; NATIONAL PACT; TAOUARDEI DECLARATION.*

TUKULOR.

See SEGOU TUKULOR EMPIRE; EL HADJ OMAR TALL;  
AMADOU TALL.

U

ULAMA.

A term used in Islam to denote the most notable scholars. In Timbuctoo, prior to the Moroccan invasion, the *Ulama* were an important segment of the patriciate that ruled the city. Many were connected by family links to wealthy trading enterprises; these connections gave them patronage power and entrée to wealthy traders entering the city from North Africa. In a sense, the *Ulama* were an important part of a state within a state in Songhay times. The Moroccans quickly exiled, killed, or imprisoned them because of the obvious threat they posed to Moroccan rule. See AHMAD BABA.

## UNION DEMOCRATIQUE DU PEUPLE MALIEN.

A political party whose formation was announced on September 22, 1976, by President Moussa Traoré as part of the latter's plan for returning the country to civilian rule. On independence day the previous year, the president had announced plans for the formation of a political party. On January 1, 1976, Traoré announced in his New Year's address that the party's function was to mobilize the people in the creation of an independent national economy. Considerable debate within the CMLN delayed implementation of Traoré's policy; Doukara, Bagayoko and other members opposed the party's statutes. Disseminated on September 26, 1976, these statutes had been drafted by Lt. Col. Filifing Sissoko, permanent secretary of the military committee. Sissoko, along with Sory Coulibaly the only minister who sat as a delegate on the military committee was the president's closest friend and ally.

From its inception, the party had an executive committee; it also had a national council that met once a year. The president of the executive committee presided over the National Council and the Triennial National Congress and was head of the party. In this respect, the UDPM resembled the democratic centralism favored by Modibo Keita. Although the party had a grassroots organization, policy control remained at the top. Implementation of the new party was slow. Malians were unsure of what the party was supposed to be doing; they were fearful it would become what the discredited US-RDA had been. Also, no one was certain how the party would share power with the military or whether it would replace the military committee. These ambiguities were the result of Traoré's cautious implementation strategy and reflected continued opposition to the party by some of the junta.

In November 1976 and in January 1977, the president repeated his

promise that the party would be implemented; in January and February 1977, members of the CMLN visited the *régions* to explain to people the new political order. Wearied by the intrusive, oppressive, and costly activities of the old US-RDA, the people weren't really that interested.

In Bamako, students used the informational meetings as opportunities for airing grievances about special entitlements and for demanding freedom of speech. The CMLN took a hard, uncompromising position, and the students went out on strike, effectively closing the schools for two months. Students struck not so much over freedom of speech but because of what seemed to them to be a new arbitrary law providing for exams for post-secondary school entry into universities and technical training schools. With the jailing of students and the closure of schools, the new party got off to a bad start. Matters grew worse in May 1977 when large numbers of demonstrators were jailed

during the funeral of Modibo Keita. From the perspective of some members of the CMLN, preliminary gestures toward democratic government had resulted in serious public disturbances. This point of view fueled the arguments of CMLN members who favored continued direct military rule.

Despite this setback, President Traoré moved ahead, recognizing the great risk in continuing direct military rule and the advantages of ruling through a civilian party controlled by the military. In the fall of 1977, he sent CMLN members out to the *régions* to organize party structure at the local level. In part, the impetus to extend representative government stemmed from the fear of some CMLN members that junior military leaders, along with the country's youth, were becoming disaffected. (In 1976, a group of junior officers did attempt a coup.) During the fall of 1977, a number of former Keita regime leaders were released from prison, their release winning support for the president. Former Keita leaders were also released after local UDPN cells had been established through an electoral process that involved virtually all segments of Malian society. According to the Constitution of 1974, former Keita personnel were to be excluded from major public office until 1984. But their release after the party apparatus had already been established also effectively excluded them.

In January 1978, more political prisoners were released; among these was former President Keita's widow. Although general elections were not held for another year and a half (June 19, 1979), the commitment to civilian rule had been made under President Traoré's leadership as head of the new party. With the party elections of 1977, some of those in the CMLN who opposed the complete dissolution of military rule (Doukara and Bagayoko particularly) saw the potential end to their hold on absolute power and its perquisites. Desperate, they plotted to

assassinate the president and seize power; their plan was aborted.

Despite the setback of February 1978, the president re-shuffled the cabinet in May and called a Constituent Congress of the Union Nationale des Jeunes du Mali. Next came a Convention of the Union Nationale des Travailleurs Maliens. Local party committees then elected representatives to regional assemblies, which in turn chose the members of the party congress which met March 28-31, 1979. On June 19, 1979, general elections were held. President Traoré was elected to a six-year term by over 99% of the electorate, as were UDPM candidates elected to the National Assembly (for four-year terms, later changed to three-year terms by a 1981 amendment to the 1974 constitution). On June 28, 1979, most members of the CMLN left the cabinet and became members of the Central Executive Bureau (Bureau Exécutif Central) (BEC) of the 19-member UDPM, the most powerful

political body in the country. (The National Council of the UDPM has 137 members.)

Following student and teacher protests in 1979 and 1980, President Traoré announced that the UDPM had not achieved its goals. Between February 10 and 13, 1980, an extraordinary (first) congress of the UDPM was held at which a liberalization of the economy was decided on as well as the abolition of 20 of 30 parastatals. A second congress of the UDPM was held in February 1982 to "breathe new life into the party." In June 1982, the UDPM fielded 82 candidates for the National Assembly. In January 1983, a third-party congress was held during which it was announced that Malians would be encouraged to seek employment outside of government. This announcement came in response to demands made by the International Monetary Fund. Following it, the National Council of the UDPM recommended a cutback in state employment. In 1985, Traoré ran for the presidency again as the candidate of the UDPM, with no opposition. He won 98 percent of the vote. In 1986, the UDPM congress adopted a national charter to encourage the "moralization of public life" and established a seventeen member special commission, headed by the party's political secretary, Djibril Diallo, to assist in the anticorruption campaign. This was an attempt by Traoré and his inner circle of cronies to insure that public outrage about corruption was directed at others and not at themselves. The commission began work in 1987 and in December of that year, 47 defendants were brought before a state security court and charged with embezzling public funds. Nine were sentenced to death then and four in 1989.

UDPM regional party organizations put up three candidates for each of 82 National Assembly seats in the 1988 elections. Forty new members were elected.

In March 1988, the UDPM held its third regular congress and Traoré was re-elected secretary-general. Seven members of the Central Executive Committee were replaced, including General Amadou Baba Diarra, who had been deputy secretary-general. This latter move reflected Traoré's concerns over Diarra's growing popularity within the military.

The UDPM's collective leadership was strongly dominated by Traoré, who insured its continued allegiance through patronage. In 1989, demands grew for multiparty democracy. In December of that year the UDPM national council restated its opposition to a multiparty system. However, as these pressures grew, fueled by prodemocracy movements elsewhere in Africa, Traoré had to relent. He had the UDPM sponsor a series of conferences to discuss the exercise of democracy within the framework of the party. Although many participants, especially at the Bamako conference, spoke in favor of a multiparty sys-



tem, Traoré firmly stated that diverse opinions had to be expressed within the UDPM. His decision set the stage for the emergence of an organized prodemocracy movement in late 1990. This movement plus the protests of students and labor unions, each presenting different demands, put increasing pressure on Traoré, which he met with armed force. As the protests became larger and more violent in early 1991, key members of the UDPM began to break ranks with Traoré. On February 18, 1991, Djibril Diallo, political secretary of the UDPM, openly declared himself in favor of a multiparty system. He was followed by the party's administrative secretary, Bouillé Siby.

Bloody prodemocracy demonstrations in Bamako on March 22-24, 1991, eventually led to a military coup which toppled the Traoré regime on March 26, the day that the UDPM was abolished.

In 1993, several former leaders of the UDPM tried to resuscitate the party following the 1992 presidential and National Assembly elections. However, the government refused to grant the party recognition since it had been legally proscribed. UDPM leaders, however, began an appeal of this decision in the courts in 1993. *See* MOUSSA TRAORÉ.

#### UNION DOUANIERE DES ETATS DE L'AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST (UDAO).

An economic and customs union made up of seven of the eight countries that were once part of French West Africa. A new convention created in 1959 was signed in 1966. In 1972, Colonel Moussa Traoré of Mali served, as president of the Conference of Heads of State.

#### UNION NATIONALE DES ETUDIANTS ET DES ELEVES DU MALI.

An independent student union formed in early 1979 and formally

proscribed by the government on January 15, 1980. From late 1979 to late 1980, it became the organizing force for a series of protracted and violent confrontations between students and government. *See* STUDENT AND TEACHER STRIKES AND RIOTS.

UNION NATIONALE DES FEMMES MALIENNES. (National Union of Malian Women).

Dissolved after the coup d'etat of 1968. It was revived by the military committee in 1974, during the International Women's Year. President Traoré's wife was elected president by the constituent congress, and Madame Fatou Tall was elected secretary-general. She was a relative by both blood and marriage to Kissima Doukara, minister of defense, interior and security, and to Tiecoro Bagayoko, director of security services. Madame Tall was arrested in 1978 for her alleged role in the planned coup d'etat of 1978. The executive committee of the union was packed with relatives of military committee members.

#### UNION NATIONALE DES JEUNES DU MALI.

The youth organization of the UDPM.

#### UNION NATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS DU MALI.

The national labor union of Mali, which prior to 1968 was an integral part of the Union Soudanaise-RDA and subject to party directives. It was dissolved by the Fundamental Law of December 6, 1968. Divided into 12 separate unions, six of which had national sections, it was reconstituted in 1974 with Seydou Diallo as secretary-general. Diallo was a pre-independence labor organizer who had worked under Sekou Touré of Guinea. The union played a leading role in toppling the regime of President Traoré in 1991.

#### UNION SOUDANAISE-RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN (US-RDA).

A political party founded in 1946 by Mamadou Konaté and Modibo Keita. It emerged from an older grouping, the Bloc Soudanais. In 1946, at a congress held in Bamako, the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (RDA) was formed as a union of African parties. The RDA was set up throughout AOF and French Equatorial Africa and had a firm administrative infrastructure. The Union Soudanaise became the Sudanese party of the larger RDA grouping and took the name Union Soudanaise-RDA. By 1956, with the reforms of the *loi cadre* in effect, the US-RDA swept to major electoral victories over its main rival, the Parti Progressiste Soudanais. The latter eventually merged with it and by 1959, the US-RDA was the only party in the Sudan. Headed by Modibo Keita, who was its secretary-general, the party remained in existence until 1968 when it was abolished after the coup d'etat by Mali's military committee.

Following the coup of 1991 that toppled the Traoré regime, political parties were permitted to form. The US-RDA, which had ceased to

exist on November 19, 1968, was resuscitated by a group consisting of old hard-line Marxist associates of Modibo Keita such as Seydou Badian Kouyaté, Mamadou Gologo and Madeira Keita and younger supporters. A special congress of the US-RDA held in January 1992 initially selected Tiéoulé Konaté as the party's presidential candidate. A moderate who had lived outside of Mali for many years, Konaté advocated purging "Stalinism" from the party. Old Marxist hard-line associates of Modibo Keita exerted enough influence in the leadership to reverse this choice. They had the party choose Baba Hakib Haidara as its presidential candidate. Both candidates stood in the first round of presidential elections on April 12, 1992. Tiéoulé Mamadou Konaté won 14.51% of the votes and Baba Hakib Haidara 7.37%. In a second round held on April 26, 1992, Konaté won 30.0% to Alpha Oumar Konaré's 70.7 1%.

In elections for the National Assembly held in 1992, the US-RDA took 8 of 116 seats compared to 76 seats for ADEMA and 9 for CNID.

This impressive comeback of the US-RDA, after 24 years of dormancy, reflects the continued strength of Marxism among Mali's cadres, many of which received their training in the former Soviet Union, the defunct German Democratic Republic, and other communist countries. Konaté's showing in the presidential elections was in part driven by his being the son of Mali's revered pre-independence leader.

In early 1994, Konaté and his supporters left the US-RDA and started a new political party.

V

#### VILLAGES DE LIBERTE.

Liberty villages established by the French during the period of early colonial occupation. In the French Sudan these villages were fostered during the administration of William Ponty when he was delegate and, later, lieutenant governor of the territory. They provided homes for former slaves who had been emancipated in the French colonies by the administrative decree of December 12, 1900. The administration settled ex-slaves on lands supposedly belonging to no one. Also settled in these villages were the countless refugees from all the local wars plus individuals who had been captured years before in wars fought within the Tukulor empire and elsewhere. Often sponsored by antislavery societies, the villages were not administered well; eventually they were phased out.

#### VILLAS DE LA SECHERESSE.

A term first used in 1974 in Bamako to describe houses allegedly built with embezzled funds from the massive international drought-relief

effort. Most of these villas, leased to diplomatic missions and personnel of bilateral and international aid groups, were built by military and high government personnel.

#### VOITURES DE LA SECHERESSE.

A term first widely used in Bamako in 1974 to characterize the enormous numbers of new automobiles making their appearance that year. Allegedly, most of these vehicles were purchased by military and government personnel from embezzled international drought-relief funds.

#### VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS.

Social, cultural, and sporting associations that formed in the French Sudan during the late 1930s. Among them were the Association des Lettres du Soudan, Amicale Sportive de Bamak, Societe Sportive Soudanaise, Les Flamboyants, Art et Travail, etc. These groups brought the educated elite of the Sudan together with

Mali's future political leaders. The French administration encouraged these associations, seeing in them a means of regulating the direction and development of political aspirations. As a way of controlling these groups, the administration encouraged them to associate in a grouping called the *Maison du Peuple*, which, along with the *Amis du Rassemblement Populaire du Soudan Français*, the government helped establish. These voluntary associations were staging grounds for the development of political parties in the Sudan, and in that role lay their significance.

W

WAGADU.

A medieval Soninké kingdom which most scholars believe was probably Ghana. There is no single piece of evidence proving conclusively that Wagadu and Ghana were one and the same. However, taken collectively, various pieces of evidence, especially those from the *Tarikh el Fettach*, lend weight to the prevailing current scholarly conclusion that Wagadu and Ghana were the same state.

WAHABIYA.

A fundamentalist anti-Sufi movement that became rooted in the western Sudan after World War II, brought in by pilgrims returning from Saudi Arabia. The Wahabi are known as *bras croisés* because they pray with their arms crossed over their breasts instead of at their sides. On May 1957 in Bamako, there were serious street riots against the Wahabi and their homes. Economic jealousies played a role in these riots; many Wahabi were and are wealthy merchants.

WANGARA.

A name first used by the twelfth-century Arab geographer Edrisi for the goldfields of the western Sudan. Because the gold trade was handled by middlemen who kept the locations of the mines secret for

centuries, all attempts by geographers, merchants, and rulers to locate the mines proved futile.

Leo Africanus placed Wangara in the Hausa country of present-day Nigeria. In 1550, some Portuguese succeeded in reaching the Bambouk goldfields located in what is now western Mali. But the Portuguese perished. Mungo Park and Rene Callié explored the Bambouk and Bouré goldfield areas but failed to realize they were in the Wangara, so extensively written of before. By then, the mines were producing very little. We now know that the name Wangara was unknowingly being used to describe all gold-producing areasBambouk, Bouré, Lobi, and Ashanti. See BAMBOUK; BOURE; GOLD TRADE.



## WAR WITH BURKINA FASO, 1985.

The five-day war between Mali and Burkina Faso (December 25-30, 1985) had its origins in the longstanding dispute between the two countries over a piece of territory some 12 by 100 miles referred to as either the Udalun (after a Tuareg group that lives there) or the Agacher. This territory lies around the border of Mali's *cercle* of Douentza. The dispute over this territory began in 1961. It has its roots in the fact that the region is well watered all year round and provides excellent grazing for livestock, critical resources in the fragile agrarian economies on both sides of the frontier, especially during the dry season. The assumption that the region may contain mineral wealth (there are no data or studies to support this) plus national pride have complicated efforts to resolve the issue. The dispute has its origins in the imprecise cartography of the area during the colonial area and because the border was erected, eliminated, and reconstituted during 1919, 1932, and 1947, respectively, when Upper Volta was created, then dissolved (its territory being given to adjacent colonies), and then reconstituted again.

Disputes among nomad groups over watering and grazing rights in this area have historically been common, particularly during the dry season. In 1974 the border dispute between Mali and Upper Volta resulted in physical confrontation between the two countries. A series of three military clashes occurred between the two armies, resulting in a few injuries on either side and the death of a Voltaic sergeant. A few soldiers were captured. The fighting was small scale and limited to the disputed territory itself. The better-trained and largely Soviet-equipped Malian army had the upper hand over Upper Volta's two battalions. Significantly, a young Voltaic officer, Thomas Sankara, achieved national prominence because of the heroism he displayed in fighting the Malians. He later became president of Upper Volta, whose

name he changed to Burkina Faso. Sankara was president at the time of the 1985 war.

Diplomatic efforts to resolve the border dispute began in 1974; in 1983, the presidents of both countries finally agreed to place the issue before the International Court of Justice.

The Malians claim that between December 10 and 25, 1985, Burkina Faso officials attempted to conduct a census in the disputed territory which Mali still maintains is its own. There are far-reaching implications to census-taking because it is both a declaration of sovereignty over an area and a preliminary step to establishing national tax roles. According to the Malians, Burkina Faso refused to desist, so armed intervention ensued on December 25. Unlike the 1974 conflict that was limited to the disputed territory, this one was spread out over a long expanse of the frontier. The military strategems consisted of occupation of one another's territories, hit-and-run attacks on the ground, and

air raids. On December 25, Mali carried out air raids on two large towns in northern Burkina Faso near the border, Djibo and Ouahigouya. Burkina Faso retaliated with an air raid on Sikasso on December 26, in which four Malian civilians were killed and four injured. While the Malians quickly recaptured four towns in the disputed area (Dioulouna, Selba, Kouna, and Douna), the Burkina Faso army raided Zegoua, Mali's southernmost post on the main road between it and Ivory Coast, several hundred miles from the disputed territory. According to Burkina Faso, 15 Malian soldiers were killed and two military targets destroyed.

Attempts on the part of third parties at working out a cease-fire began almost immediately. The first was worked out by Libyan Foreign Minister Ali Abdussalam al-Treiki in conjunction with Nigeria. A second effort was headed by Abdou Diouf, president of Senegal and chairman of the Organization of African Unity, in conjunction with Felix Houphouet-Boigny, president of Ivory Coast; Gnassingbe Eyadema, president of Togo; Mathieu Kerekou, president of Benin; and Seyni Kountche, president of Niger. Mali and Burkina Faso agreed to end hostilities at midnight on December 27, but the truce was immediately broken. The Malian army attacked Koloko, a small village and frontier post inside of Burkina Faso just across the border, adjacent to the region of Sikasso. The Malians claimed that one of their soldiers was killed and eight injured. Mali's air force also raided four major towns inside of Burkina Faso, Ouahigouya, Djibo, Dedougou, and Tougan. The Malians claimed that these strikes were in retaliation for the air strike on Sikasso. The UDPM claimed in a statement that these raids caused much property damage and many deaths. All four towns are constructed primarily of mud brick and consist of single-story dwellings. On December 30, both Mali and Burkina Faso agreed to a cease-fire. The National Council of the

Revolution in Burkina Faso publicly assented to the truce worked out by the foreign ministers of seven West African nationsBurkina Faso, Mali, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Niger, Togo, and Benin, all signers of the West African nonaggression and defense accord known as ANAD. Mali publicly stated it was observing the cease-fire arranged by Libya and Nigeria. This caused concern in other West African countries because that accord called for the inclusion of both countries in a military observer force. International Red Cross representatives were given access to prisoners on both sides. On January 4, 1986, Captain Sankara, the leader of Burkina Faso, presented combat decorations and displayed several captured armored vehicles.

In January 1986, both sides accepted a truce worked out by ANAD and peace was agreed upon at an ANAD summit held at Yamoussoukro, Ivory Coast. Presidents Traoré and Sankara met and agreed to

observe a cease-fire and abide by the ruling of the International Court of Justice. Both sides presented opening arguments before the court in June 1986. The Malians, represented by Jean Salmon of the Free University of Brussels, took the high ground in the case and abandoned their ten-year-old ethnic argument. They did so under pressure from France and ANAD leaders.

On December 22, 1986, the court handed down its decision, giving Mali the western part of the disputed territory and Burkina Faso the eastern part. Both President Traoré and President Sankara praised the decision, which both sides have respected in the ensuing years.

#### WASSALOU.

An area of southwestern Mali and adjacent Guinea encompassing the modern administrative *cercles* of Yanfolila, Kolondieba, and parts of Bougouni. The inhabitants are Bambara and Wassalunké, the latter being a mixture of Peul and Bambara.

#### WASSALUNKE.

A small ethnic group living in southwestern Mali in the *cercles* of Yanfolila and Bougouni. Their origins are probably Peul, but they presently exhibit many cultural characteristics of their immediate neighbors, the Bambara and Malinke. The Wassalunke are closely related to the Fulanke, a small group of about 12,000 who live in the northwest in the *cercle* of Kita, which includes three traditional areas known as Arbala, Fuladougou-Saboula, and the Birgo. The Wassalunké, who also extend into Guinea, were conquered by Samory Touré.

#### WESTERN SUDAN.

A term employed to describe that area immediately south of the Sahara in West Africa. It includes the Sahel and the savanna country of Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Senegal. The word Sudan comes

from the Arabic *Bilad es Sudan*, "land of the black people."

#### WHITE FATHERS.

An order of missionary priests founded in 1868 by Cardinal Charles Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers. The official name of the White Fathers is the Order of Our Lady of Africa of Algiers. Their purpose is the conversion of the peoples of Africa. The White Fathers first established missions in Mali in the 1880s and presently maintain missions in most areas of the country. They are engaged in a number of social welfare programs.

#### WRITERS AND POETS.

Mali has produced many eminent writers and poets. Besides the nonfiction writers, many of whose works appear in the bibliography, are the fiction writers and poets. Among these are Fily Dabo Sissoko, Massa Makan Diabaté, Amadou Hampaté Ba, Bokar N'Diaye, Issa Traoré, Hadj Sadia Traoré, Mamadou Gologo,

Seydou Badian Kouyaté, Moussa Konaté, Nagognime Dembélé, and Yambo Ouologuem.

## Y

**YANFOLILA.** A *cercle* in southwestern Mali in the *région* of Sikasso. Yanfolila embraces 8,800 square kilometers and has a population of 110,000 people, most of whom are Bambara and Wassalunké. The *chef-lieu*, Yanfolila, has a population of 2500. The *cercle's* economy is based on subsistence agriculture. The Selingué hydroelectric dam on the Sankarani River is located in the *cercle*.

## YELIMANE.

A *cercle* in the *région* of Kayes in northwestern Mali. Covering only 5,750 square kilometers, it has a population of 90,000 inhabitants, most of whom are Sarakole. The *chef-lieu*, Yelimane, has a population of 2500. The *cercle's* economy is one of subsistence agriculture, but in recent years cash crops have been developed in the Térékollé River Valley.

## YOROSSO.

A small *cercle* in the *région* of Sikasso with a population of 90,000 people, most of whom are engaged in subsistence agriculture.

## YOUVAROU.

Formerly an *arrondissement* of the *cercle* of Niafunké, *région* of Mopti. In 1977, Youvarou was made a *cercle* with six *arrondissements*, all part of the Mopti region. The remainder of Niafunké was incorporated into the new Timbuctoo *région*. The total population is around 105,000; most of the inhabitants are Peul pastoral nomads and subsistence farmers.

## Z

ZA (DIA).

A dynasty that ruled the Songhay kingdom of the Gao for close to six centuries. There were 30 Za rulers, 13 of whom were not Moslem. Za Kossoi converted to Islam in 1009 A.D. In 1324, Za Yassiboi was conquered by Mali, and in 1325, he paid homage to Mansa Moussa, the emperor of Mali, on Moussa's return from Mecca. In 1335, Sonni Ali Kolon, who had been taken to Mali by Mansa Moussa, became king. He was the son of Za Yassiboi. A total of 20 Sonni kings, though regarded as a separate dynasty, were Za descendants. See ASKIA; SONGHAY EMPIRE; SONNI.

ZAHAN, DOMINIQUE (March 14, 1915-November 23, 1991).

Distinguished anthropologist whose field research and publications constitute some of the most important work on the peoples of Mali. Za-



han was born in Romania and studied at Bucharest and in Paris at the Sorbonne. While at the latter, he studied under Marcel Griaule and in 1948 accompanied him to Africa. As a member of the Griaule study group, Zahan spent 10 years in the field. He served as Chief of Immigration for the Office du Niger and conducted numerous studies of the social and psychological problems of the diverse populations settled at the irrigation scheme. He also conducted a broad range of anthropological and ethnographic studies of the Bambara and Dogon of Mali. These studies resulted in a large number of publications which have been highly valued by subsequent generations of scholars.

In 1960, Zahan received his doctoral degree from the Sorbonne. His thesis, "*Sociétés d'Initiation Bambara: Le N'Domo, Le Koré*," was published in book form that same year. He joined the faculty of the University of Strasbourg in 1960, eventually becoming Professor of Ethnology. In 1968, he became Professor of African Ethnology and Sociology at the Sorbonne. His major works in both French and English appear in the bibliography. Among them is his monumental work on the Tyi Wara society, *Les Antilopes du Soleil* (1980), which contains a detailed catalogue of over 500 headdresses.

Zahan traveled to South Africa and the Kalahari in 1973 and in 1988 served as a guest professor at Carleton College in the U.S. In 1990-1991, he was a Stanley Senior Fellow in the Project for the Advanced Study of Art and Life in Africa at the University of Iowa. In the Spring of 1991, he was a visiting professor at the University of Cluj-Napoca in Romania but had to return to Paris when he was diagnosed with cancer. He died in Paris and is survived by his wife and three children.

Zahan never returned to Mali after he left in 1958. Later, his interpreter, Tyabi Coulibaly, who worked with him for seven years,

and 22 farmers tried to form a political party in opposition to the Marxist regime of Modibo Keita. They were arrested and held in inhuman conditions in prison. Coulibaly and several others were eventually executed. Zahan told this writer that he could not bring himself to return to Mali, in part because of the arrest and execution of Tyabi Coulibaly. The Keita regime also confiscated Zahan's field equipment. (Information for this entry was kindly provided by Eva Zahan, Dominique Zahan's widow.)

# Bibliography

## Bibliographic Introduction

The purpose of this bibliography is to provide readers with an introduction to the vast literature on Mali. This body of literature spans virtually every discipline and continues to grow each year. Although much of what has been published on Mali is in French, recent years have witnessed a steady growth in the number of writings in English. This reflects both the increased attention given to Mali in the areas of politics, economics, and current events in the English speaking world and the contributions of historians, social scientists, archaeologists, art historians etc. from Great Britain, the United States, and elsewhere.

Prior to 1970, most research in Mali was conducted by French nationals, a fact which is reflected in the literature up to that time. During the colonial era, which ended in 1960, both a lack of interest on the part of researchers from the anglophone world and disincentives created for them by the colonial administration greatly limited the size of the English-language literature. During most of the 1960s, Mali's Marxist government created a closed and controlled society in the interests of achieving political objectives. As it attempted to collectivize farmers, dismantle the structures of traditional societies, and build a Marxist-socialist state, Mali's government actively discouraged researchers from abroad. While a limited number of researchers managed to overcome the government's significant obstacles, most were unsuccessful in receiving permission to carry out their projects. The open policy of the government of Moussa Traoré, which took power through a coup d'etat in 1968, became apparent in the 1970s as relatively large numbers of

anglophone researchers came to Mali, many of them Americans on Ford Foundation grants. Other English-speaking nationals came to work in development programs, often under the auspices of nongovernmental organizations. Some later published descriptions of their work or else wrote about special studies which they had conducted.

A favorable environment for research by non-French nationals was also created in the 1970s by Mali's diversification of its political, cultural, and economic ties with other countries in Western Europe and with the United States and Canada. The end result has been a steady growth

in the English-language literature on Mali since the 1970s. Yet despite this growth, most of what is published on Mali is still in French, reflecting the country's close economic, cultural, and political ties to the former metropole.

Scholarly research on Mali requires a knowledge of French since so many specialized writings are published in that language. However, there are enough published materials in English to provide adequate information on most subjects for those who are engaged in less than in-depth study.

This bibliography has been extensively revised since the previous second edition (1986). Several guiding principles have shaped this revision. In selecting new items for inclusion, significant emphasis has been placed on recent works in English. Close to 500 post-1985 citations have been added, many of which are in English. Given that some users of this work are francophone scholars, and recognizing the needs of anglophone scholars for access to the French-language literature, important post-1985 works in French have also been added. At the suggestion of readers and scholars, some pre-1985 English and French language works have been added since they are viewed as important to specific subject areas. No doubt, these selection criteria for new additions will result in some readers not finding citations of particular interest to them. However, the inclusion of important major recent works in both English and French will provide them with access to a topic-specific literature since these publications all include extensive bibliographies of their own.

A large number of pre-1970 citations listed in the previous two editions (1977, 1986) have been dropped. This decision was made on grounds of relative importance, and because these items can be found in Paule Brasseur's two-volume *Bibliographie générale du Mali*

(Dakar: IFAN, 1964, 1970) and in more recent works which themselves contain extensive bibliographies. A significant number of pre-1970 citations have been retained. Some are considered classics in their subject areas, as for example the accounts of early European explorers and the anthropologic studies of Marcel Griaule and his colleagues. Others are judged essential to anyone seeking a deeper understanding of specific topics.

Readers can supplement the listings in this bibliography in a variety of ways. The existence of computer databases greatly facilitates electronic retrieval of country-specific publications. One such data base is *Infotrac*, which is available in many public and most university libraries. Its database, drawn from newspapers and periodicals, includes politics, economics, science, current events, and description and travel. A similar database is *Proquest*. The *Art Index*, *Education Index*, *General Science Index*, *Humanities Index* and *Social Sciences Index* are published annually, contain country listings, and are available in many public and university libraries. The *Dissertation Index*, available on computer, lists

doctoral dissertations going back to the nineteenth century and is cross-indexed for titles, authors, and subject matter. The *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* draws on an information base from selected popular periodicals that infrequently carry articles about Mali. However, its listings are supplemented by those in *Access*, which is annually issued in both printed and electronic formats.

Obtaining copies of monographs and articles has been greatly facilitated through electronic-based interlibrary loan programs. Most university libraries in the United States are able to obtain photocopies of articles published in even small circulation foreign language journals. The library of the National Museum of African Art in Washington, D.C., annually acquires and catalogues a large number of articles, books, monographs, etc., in English and foreign languages dealing with Mali. These cover art, archeology, history, travel, general description, and the social sciences. Photocopies of specific articles can be obtained on request for a nominal fee. The museum's Eliot Elisofon Photographic archives holds many photographs taken in Mali. The Robert Goldwater Library of the Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses large collections of materials related to Mali's art and culture as well as relevant photographs. The newly constructed library of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City possesses large collections of materials dealing with fauna, flora, geology, archeology, and anthropology. The library also has a large photographic collection.

The publications in this bibliography have been listed under 10 broad headings and a number of subheadings. A new heading, Women's Issues, has been added, reflecting a nascent but growing literature. Certain publications are interdisciplinary in character and could be listed under more than one heading. These have been listed under the subject which best reflects their main thrust. Complete citational

information is not easily available for some entries, especially older ones. However, enough data are provided to permit retrieval.

### Bibliographic Sources

A major bibliographic source on Mali is Paule Brasseur's excellent work, *Bibliographie générale du Mali* (Dakar:IFAN, 1964). It contains 4902 entries listed under six large sections and numerous subsections, and contains an index by subject and author. Many of the items listed are annotated. In 1976, Brasseur published a second volume of her bibliography which follows the format of the first. Entitled *Bibliographie générale du Mali (1961-1970)* (Dakar:IFAN), 1976, it contains 2941 entries. This second volume has extensive listings of publications dealing with political developments, foreign affairs, and government in Mali during the decade following independence in 1960. These two volumes



constitute an extensive bibliographic source on Mali, and are an absolute must for anyone undertaking scholarly research. Joucla's *Bibliographie de l'Afrique occidentale française* (1937) is a standard for the period prior to 1937. However, items in it relating to Mali are now included in Brasseur's work. Dawn Bastian, Andrea Stamm, and Robert Myers have written the first English-language annotated bibliography of Mali. Entitled *Mali* (Oxford:Clio, 1994) it is a superb up-to-date annotated bibliography. It is available in the United States from ABC-Clio in Santa Barbara, California. There are a number of specific subject bibliographies, such as Mauny's "Bibliographie de l'empire du Mali," *Notes Africaines*, 82(1959):55-56, and bibliographies of single authors, such as "Principaux Ouvrages de Maurice Delafosse," *Outre Mer*, 1(1929):411-413. But virtually all of the publications listed in them can be found in Brasseur's bibliography. Many of the works cited in the present bibliography contain extensive bibliographies of their own. For example, Foltz's *From French West Africa to the Mali Federation* (1965) contains an extensive bibliography covering political developments in French West Africa and in Mali during the decades prior to 1960. Snyder's *One-Party Government in Mali* (1965) contains an extensive bibliography dealing with political developments in Mali from the 1930s through the early 1960s.

### General Works

In the area of early European exploration and travel, the writings of Barth, Caillié, Lenz, and Hourst are especially valuable. Binger and Monteil provide vivid descriptions of southern Mali, and Gallieni, Mage, Raffenel, and Soleillet along with Gray and Dochartare sources of information about central and western Mali. The writings of Park, among the earliest, contain detailed descriptions of central and western Mali of those times. Gallieni, Mage, and Soleillet also furnish

descriptions of the Ségou Tukulor empire and the Bambara country. Meniaud's work, *Les Pionniers du Soudan*, is a fine source of information covering the period of French penetration and conquest of what is now Mali, presented from a colonial-period perspective.

The travels of Ibn Batuta and Leo Africanus are easily available and provide much useful information about this area of Africa in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, respectively. Ross E. Dunn's 1986 book, *The Adventures of Ibn Batuta. A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century*, presents new and fascinating insights into Ibn Batuta, his travels and the places he visited.

More recent travelers to Mali have contributed to a growing body of travel literature. A number of these works are listed in this bibliography. They include Ernst Aebi's *Seasons of Sand* (1993), Michael Usher's *Two*

*Against The Sahara. On Camelback From Nouakchott To The Nile* (1988), and Peter Hudson's *A Leaf In The Wind. Travels In Africa* (1988). Thomas A. Bass' *Camping With The Prince And Other Tales Of Science In Africa* (1990) describes the work of a number of scientists in Africa. His sections on Mali cover the visit of Great Britain's Prince Philip (in his capacity as head of the World Wildlife Fund) to the Inland Delta of the Niger and Jeremy Swift's work among the Tuareg of Kidal.

The number of descriptive and interdisciplinary works continues to grow as well. Earlier ones often provide details about the periods in which they were written not contained in later works. Jean Paul Lastouillas' three volumes of description are a rich source of information about the Western Sudan from the 1930s through the mid-1970s. They recount the unusual experiences of a colonial medical administrator (and, later, technical medical advisor) in both prose and poetry.

Gérard Brasseur's *Le Mali* (1974) is an excellent monograph on Mali covering history, politics, economics, health, education, and many other subjects up through the early 1970s. Pascal James Imperato's *A Wind In Africa. A Story of Modern Medicine in Mali* covers not only health and disease but also presents detailed accounts of Mali's peoples, regions, political life, economy, and history. It provides a rare eyewitness account of the 1968 military coup d'etat that toppled the regime of Modibo Keita. Imperato's *Mali: A Search For Direction* (1989) is a comprehensive treatment of the country's population, history, political life, economy, and culture. Sennen Andriamirado's *Le Mali Aujhourd'hui* (1987) is a richly illustrated and comprehensive treatment of all aspects of Malian life, including politics, economics, and history. Two other volumes in French provide similar coverage: Joseph Roger de Benoist's *Le Mali* (1989) and Attilo Gaudio's *Le Mali*

(1988). The Benoist volume is more detailed, particularly in the area of then recent political events. Unfortunately, these two volumes draw exclusively on the French-language literature. This is a significant flaw since much new knowledge in several subject areas has been published primarily in English.

Thomas O'Toole's *Mali In Pictures* (1990) is intended for young readers. It is beautifully illustrated in both color and black and white and covers the land, history, and government, people, and the economy. An earlier volume, *Mali* (1975), by Thomas O'Toole and Mark La Pointe, provides similar coverage and is also well illustrated. Kim Naylor's *Mali* (1987) is also intended for young readers. Its well-illustrated text provides a broad introduction to the country.

The *Post Report* and *Background Notes*, published by the U.S. Department of State, contain useful facts, the former emphasizing living conditions, and the latter, general, historical, political, and geographic information. These publications are periodically updated. A number of recent works in the categories of description and travel

and those of an interdisciplinary character often cover other countries in addition to Mali. In order to assist readers, the inclusive pages of these works dealing with Mali are identified in parentheses at the end of these citations.

Timbuctoo has been described by several writers, but one of the most important works in English is Miner's *The Primitive City of Timbuctoo* (1953, 1965). This contains a detailed ethnographic description of the city based on the author's seven months of field research in 1940. It also contains much useful historical information. It is, however, somewhat dated now for certain matters but is nonetheless a valuable single source of information. Hall's *Timbuctoo* (1927) is an interesting travelogue but is devoid of extensive historical data. Seabrooks' *The White Monk of Timbuctoo* (1934) is a biography of Auguste Dupuis-Yacouba, the White Father (Père Blanc) missionary who married an African woman and lived on in Timbuctoo. It contains many useful historical facts. Welch's *The Unveiling of Timbuctoo* (1939) is a description of René Caillié's voyage. The social history of Timbuctoo is admirably presented in Saad's *Social History of Timbuktu* (1983), and the rule of the Arma (Ruma) in Timbuctoo is described in great detail in Abitol's *Tombouctou et les Arma* (1979).

Keita's *Kayes et le haut Sénégal* (1972) is a comprehensive two-volume work providing a detailed history of the town of Kayes and the region. Tellier's *Autour de Kita* (1898) is a classic source for a nineteenth-century description of Kita, a town in western Mali which played an important role in the early French penetration of the Western Sudan. Villien-Rossi's 1966 monograph on Bamako is an excellent description of Mali's capital and its economic and social life through the early 1960s. Meillassoux's 1968 book on Bamako, *Urbanization of an African Community*, has a narrower focus, but provides some broad descriptions of the city, its life and development.

There are a number of guides published about Mali, some in English, and all containing helpful information. Many are only available in Mali. A number of standard guides on sub-Saharan Africa and West Africa contain sections on Mali which are periodically updated.

A number of statistical annuals are published in Mali, usually as mimeographed soft-cover books. The most important of these is the *Annuaire Statistique*, a large volume published annually. Although these volumes are published late, they contain comprehensive and detailed statistical data on climate, demography, economic resources, transportation and communication, finance, and health. A large number of tables are provided, and data from previous years are presented for comparison. The *Comptes Economiques du Mali* and the *Rapport de l'Enquete Agricole* provide very detailed statistical data beyond those contained in the *Annuaire Statistique*. They are published annually but are running sev-

eral years late at present. In the health field, the *Rapport Annuel du Service de Santé* contains very detailed statistical data in the form of charts and graphs covering disease problems, health resources, and personnel. *Infrastructure Sanitaire* contains a detailed breakdown of health personnel by specialty, *région*, *cercle*, and *arrondissement*, and a breakdown of medical facilities by kind and location.

There are excellent maps of Mali available, the greatest detail being found in the 1/200,000 published by the Institut Géographique National in Paris. The bilingual *Michelin Road Map of North and West Africa* is extremely accurate and contains about as much detail as the ordinary reader would require. It is updated periodically.

### Cultural Works

It is often said that although Mali is poor economically, it is among the most culturally wealthy countries in Africa. This rich cultural heritage is evidenced in the enormous body of publications under this rubric. Those listed here are but a selected proportion of what exists. In the field of earlier archaeological research, Desplanes, Filipowiak, Gironcourt, Lhote, Mauny, Thomassey, Monod, Szumowski, and Zeltner have written a large number of articles, a selection of which is listed. Beginning in the 1970s and continuing into the 1990s, several archaeologists have conducted important research in Mali, the results of which have greatly illuminated the prehistory of this part of Africa. The McIntoshes have written a number of publications based on their remarkable finds at Djenné-Jeno. Prominent among these is *Prehistoric Investigations in the Region of Jenné, Mali: A study of Development of Urbanism in the Sahel* (1980). In 1991, Raimbault and Sanogo edited an important work which brings together the current archaeologic research of several investigators. It is entitled *Recherches archéologiques au Mali: Prospections et inventaire des*

*fouilles et études analytiques en zone lacustre* (Paris: Editions Karthala, 1991). Huizinga and his colleagues extensively studied the Tellem caves and niches in the Dogon country and have published numerous articles. The results of their research are summarized by Bedaux in his 1977 publication, *Tellem*.

As archaeologists have carefully unearthed terra-cotta statues from *tumuli* (mounds) in the Inland Delta of the Niger, so too have others in search of profit. Prior to the early 1970s few terra-cotta statues appeared on the Malian art market, and these were most often accidentally found by Bozo fishermen along the banks of the Niger. During the 1970s, illegal digging in *tumuli* intensified as the world art market demand for these terra-cottas escalated. By the late 1970s extensive illegal digging was underway, an activity which the Malian government had few resources to prevent. The fact that collectors are willing to pay extremely high



prices for these terra-cottas serves to perpetuate illegal excavations and the smuggling of these antiquities. Roderick McIntosh discusses this problem in his 1986 article "Dilettanism and Plunder Illicit Traffic in Ancient Malian Art," which is listed in the section on art. In 1985, Mali promulgated a new law that decreed that all artifacts unearthed after that date belonged to the nation. American laws against the sale of stolen property can be applied to Malian terra-cottas unearthed after 1985. These laws were put to the test in 1991 when the Malian government attempted to prevent the sale of a 31-inch-tall terra-cotta sculpture of a sheep by Sotheby's in New York City. Despite the efforts of the Malian government, the statue was sold at auction for \$275,000 ("Disputed Statue Sells for \$275,000," *New York Times*, November 21, 1991: C28). The Malian government's case was made difficult by the fact that it had to present firm documentation that the statue had been unearthed after 1985. The 1985 Malian law had little effect on the continuing plunder of archaeological sites until 1993 when the U.S. imposed import restrictions, under the 1970 UNESCO Convention, on a broad range of archaeological materials from Mali. These are described by Katherine Biers in "Mali Import Restrictions" (1994).

In the field of architecture, Gérard Brasseur's *Les Etablissements Humains au Mali* (1968) is a monumental work unrivaled for its comprehensiveness and detail. Prussin has written important English-language articles on architecture in Mali which contain much detailed information reflecting the high quality of her scholarly field research. More recently, Jean Louis Bourgeois has published on the architecture and history of the mosque at Djenné. Maas and Mommersteeg have published a comprehensive volume on Djenné's architecture, *Djenné Chef d'Oeuvre Architectural* (1992). It contains numerous illustrations, drawings, diagrams, and maps.

Mali is a country rich in art traditions, especially those of the Bambara and Dogon. These are described in great detail by several earlier French scholars, notably deGanay, Griaule, Dieterlen, Laude, Leris, and Zahan. A number of American scholars have made important contributions in recent years. These include Arnoldi, Brett-Smith, Ezra, Imperato, McNaughton, and others. Robert Goldwater's *Bambara Sculpture From The Western Sudan* (1960) is now a collectable classic. Although it is a derivative work and not based on direct field observations and contains some errors, it does provide a good overview of Bambara sculpture. Important English-language books on the arts of Mali include the following: Laude's *African Art of the Dogon. The Myths of the Cliff Dwellers* (1973); *Togu Na* (1977) by Spini and Spini; Imperato's *Dogon Cliff Dwellers: The Art of Mali's Mountain People* (1978); De Grunne's *Ancient Terracottas from West Africa* (1980), which is bilingual in French and English; De Mott's *Dogon Masks: A Structural Study of Form and*

*Meaning* (1982); Imperato's *Buffoons, Queens and Wooden Horsemen: The Dyo and Gouan Societies of the Bambara of Mali* (1983); and Ezra's *A Human Ideal in African Art: Bamana Figurative Sculpture* (1986) and *Art of the Dogon* (1988).

Some linguists have published dictionaries and other works on Mali's many languages. Included here are the works of Abiven, Bazin, Bird, Delafosse, deGanay, Labouret, Molin, Monteil, and Sauvart. A number of legends, fables, proverbs, and compendia of poems are also listed. But these scarcely reflect Mali's rich tradition of oral literature. Notable among English language publications dealing with Mali's folklore, poetry, or fables are *The Heart of the Ngoni: Heroes of the African Kingdom of Segu* (1982) by Courlander and Sako, and the writings of Veronika Görög and Gérard Meyer and Stephen Paterson Belcher.

Mali has been the setting for an astonishing number of novels, some of which are listed here. The earliest known of these is Prévost-Duclos' *Une Aventure à Tombouctou* (1882). Even Binger, the explorer, wrote a novel about the Western Sudan and Jules Verne wrote a short novel, *Into the Niger Bend*. The most important of the recent novels are Ouologuem's *Bound to Violence (Le Devoir de violence)* (1971), *God's Bits of Wood (Les Bouts de Bois de Dieu)* (1960) by Sembene, and *Segu* (1987) by Condé. All three are historical novels. The first, a rather controversial novel, portrays Africans as having been inherently debauched, without moral standards, and thoroughly evil well before the Europeans ever arrived. Into its 182 pages are compressed almost every heinous crime, debauch, and perversion imaginable, spanning the centuries from the days of the Mali empire to the present. Ouologuem adopts the antithesis position of many African novelists. The Europeans, well-meaning and naive, fall into the laps of Africans who are incredibly

evil, devious, mean, and unscrupulous. This novel was awarded the Prix Renaudot in France. However, it is not held in high esteem officially in Mali. Soon after its publication in English, it was alleged that this novel contained substantial plagiarized sections from the works of well-known European authors. The American publisher withdrew the book from the market. Since then, scholars and others have meticulously examined this novel and found many similarities between it and the previously published writings of other writers and novelists. A detailed account of these allegations of extensive plagiarism can be found in Sellin's "The Unknown Voice of Yambo Ouologuem," *Yale French Studies: Traditional and Contemporary African Literature* (1976).

*God's Bits of Wood* describes the railwaymen of the Dakar-Niger railroad, fighting to preserve their wholesome values and social structures against the onslaught of Western technology. The Europeans emerge (as they do so often in many African novels) as being callously interested only in their narrow material gain; the Africans come through as virtuous

and good. Condé's *Segu* exposes the important social forces and conflicts that greatly affected the Bambara kingdom of Ségou during its apogee.

### Economic Works

Economic data on Mali are available in a number of technical reports and papers. Of historical importance are the numerous writings of Bélimé, chief architect of the Office du Niger. Daget has written numerous publications on the fishing industry in Mali, Doutressoulle on livestock raising, and DuBois on a wide variety of subjects (in English). Ediafric in Paris has published a number of books dealing with the economies of African states, and some of these are listed. In recent years, the U.S. Agency for International Development has published a number of economic studies and development reports, all of which are available in English. A number of specialized reports and monographs have been published by a wide variety of international and bilateral assistance organizations, including the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and nongovernmental organizations engaged in technical assistance in Mali, often under contract with the U.S. Agency for International Development. Schissel's article "Mali: No More Room for Maneuver," *Africa Report* (1984) and Imperato's "Mali: Famine Again," *Lancet* (1985) provide valuable insights into Mali's failed development strategies.

Ernst's *Tradition and Progress in the African Village: Non-Capitalist Transformation of Rural Communities in Mali* (1976) is a Marxist view of social and agrarian development in rural Mali both during the colonial and early independence periods. Jones' *Planning and Economic Policy: Socialist Mali and Her Neighbors* (1976) focuses on Mali's first Five-Year Development Plan (1961-1966) and the economic policies of the Keita government. More recently Bingen has

written about rural development in Mali. Rosenblum and Williamson, in their *Squandering Eden. Africa At The Edge* (1987), present a grim and critical portrait of development projects in the sahel and in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa.

### Historical Works

There is a wealth of published material on the history of Mali from prehistoric times to the present. There are several general works written primarily for use as textbooks in primary school. These, however, contain a good outline of events and more information than is needed by the casual reader. Guilhem and Toe have written a *Précis d'histoire du Mali* (1963), which carries the story up through the early 1960s. Erny's book, *Histoire de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (1968), covers more than Mali and consequently contains less detail. Hargraves' *West Africa: The Former*

*French States* (1967) is a good English-language history of French West Africa with emphasis on the period from the nineteenth century to the 1960s. The prehistoric period has been described by several authors and their works are listed.

The history of the precolonial period, covering the era of the three great empires Ghana, Mali, and Songhay and the more recent political states of the Bambara and Peul have been the focus of much recent scholarly research. The published results of this research as well as those of earlier scholars are listed. Included in this section entitled Precolonial and Oral History are a number of writings dealing with oral histories. These oral histories are transmitted and kept in Mali by bards known as *dyeli* or *griots*. Much of the information contained in these oral histories consists of myths, legends, and folktales. However, they are viewed by many Malians as legitimate components of their national history. In addition, they are often the only sources of information for certain periods and events.

There are a number of works available in English for the precolonial period, and important among these is Bovill's *The Golden Trade of the Moors* (1958). Although somewhat of a popularized type of history, this book provides broad background information on the era and considerable detail. Thus, it is a good introduction for serious scholars and provides the ordinary reader with more than is needed. Davidson's *Old Africa Rediscovered* (1959) is the same type of book as the *Golden Trade of the Moors* and is an excellent source of information. Chu and Skinner have written *A Glorious Age in Africa: The Story of Three Great Empires* (1965), which provides primary and high school readers with ample information on Ghana, Mali, and Songhay. Serious scholars can easily get access to the *Tarik Es Sudan* and the *Tarik El Fettach*, which together contain detailed information on these empires. Mauny's *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest africain au moyen*

*age* (1961) is a good reference work for this period. Mauny has also published a useful bibliography of materials on Mali in *Notes Africaines* (1959). Niané has written a description of Sundiata Keita translated into English as *Sundiata: An Epic of Old Mali* (1965). For the Songhay empire, Rouch (1953) and Sarr (1973) have both written detailed histories. Tauxier's *Histoire des Bambara* (1942) and Monteil's *Les Bambara de Ségou et du Kaarta* furnish broad overviews of the history of the Bambara and present considerable detail. Kestleloot and her collaborators have more recently written four booklets about Da Monson, the Bambara king, in *Da Monzon de Segou* (1972). This work essentially records portions of the Bambara Ségou epic as told by various bards. Yves Person's *Samori: Une Révolution Dyula* (1968) is a monumental two-volume work.

Overviews of specific periods of the precolonial era are provided in *History of West Africa*, Vol. 1 (1971), edited by Ajayi and Crowder. Included in this volume are "The Early States of the Western Sudan," by



Levtzion; "Songhay, Borno and Hausaland in the Sixteenth Century," by Hunwick; and "The Western Sudan from the Moroccan Invasion (1591) to the Death of al-Mukhtar al-Kunti (1811)," by Willis. The history of both Ghana and Mali are covered in Levtzion's *Ancient Ghana and Mali* (1973, 1980). Arabic sources for the early history of the Western Sudan are thoroughly presented in Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* (1981). Another important source for the precolonial history of Mali is *The Cambridge History of Africa*. This is a multi-volume encyclopedic work. Its earliest volumes were published in the late 1970s. Several chapters spread over volumes 2, 3, 5, and 6 cover aspects of Mali's precolonial history and are listed in this bibliography.

A large corpus of literature has developed over the past two decades concerning the histories of Ghana, Mali, Songhay, and later states in the western Sudan. Much of this literature is in English and important works from it are cited. A number of scholars have intensively studied written Arabic sources for this period while others have recorded and interpreted local bardic oral histories and traditions. Oral histories are generally viewed by historians as unreliable sources of information. They contain much in the way of myth, legend, and folktale and are subject to the risks of generation transfer. While these histories inform about what bards currently know, they may not really document what actually happened in the historical past.

A rich source of information about Ghana, Mali, and Songhay as well as other states are the writings of various Arabic scholars which were composed over a period of several centuries. Because a number of these accounts are secondary in character, their reliability is suspect. They may in fact transmit what were originally oral histories carried across the desert to the Mediterranean world, histories replete with myth, legend, and folktale. Despite these drawbacks, modern

historians have attempted to interpret the information in them in order to arrive at some reasonable conclusions about the early history of this area.

The firsthand accounts of Ibn Batuta in the fourteenth century and Leo Africanus in the sixteenth, coupled with the accounts in the *Tarikh es Sudan* and the *Tarikh el Fettach* and the writings of some arabic scholars, have formed a basis for some scholars in attempting a reconstruction of the history of the three ancient empires. Given the character of the available oral and written histories for the period of the three great empires, it is not surprising that modern scholars sometimes differ in their conclusions about what actually took place.

The decline of Ghana is a good example of how available information can be differently interpreted depending on one's view about its reliability. The long-held view of many scholars has been that Ghana's decline in the eleventh century was the direct result of the invasion of the

Almoravids, a confederation of militant Moslem Sanhaja and other Berber tribes of the Sahara. Some scholars have given 1076 as the date of the Almoravid destruction of Koumbi, the capital of Ghana. This long-held conquest view has been challenged by David C. Conrad and Humphrey Fisher, whose writings on the subject are cited. Their studies break much new ground and should be read by all those interested in this subject. Based on an examination of external Arabic sources and local oral sources, they hypothesize that there was no Almoravid conquest and forced conversion of Ghana. They further postulate a peaceful conversion of Ghana and a cooperative arrangement between it and the Almoravids.

Other scholars have postulated that even if there was no direct Almoravid conquest of Ghana, the arrival of the Sanhaja with their large herds rapidly resulted in serious environmental degradation within the borders of Ghana. This in turn led to a collapse in agriculture. According to this view, while the Almoravids did not conquer Ghana directly, their presence in the western Sahara and within the borders of Ghana caused an inevitable decline.

This bibliography lists the publications of a number of scholars who have written about Ghana, Mali and Songhay. In the section on Precolonial History and Oral History some 50 new entries have been added. Among recent scholars who have made important contributions in this area are: Youssouf Cissé, David C. Conrad, J.M. Cuog, Paulo F. deMoraes Farias, Humphrey Fisher, Michael Gomez, Thomas Hale, Lansiné Kaba, Adam Konaré Ba (wife of the President of Mali), Alpha Oumar Konaré (President of Mali), Nehemia Levtzion, John Van Dusen Lewis, Raymond Mauny, A.M. McDougall, Madina Ly Tall, and others.

Later states in the western Sudan have also been the subjects of much

recent study and have been added to the bibliography. Some of this research has focused on historical figures who have in the past received little attention. Among these figures is Sidi Al-Mukhtar bin Ahmad bin Abu Bakr al-Kunti, a Kunta religious and political leader who united various Qadiri factions in the middle Niger in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Although Paul Marty discussed al-Mukhtar al Kunti in his now classic four-volume work on Islam and the tribes of the Soudan (see entry under Religion-Islam), it has only been in recent years that John Ralph Willis (see entry under Precolonial and Oral History) and Dennis D. Cordell (*Dar Al-Kunti and The Last Years of the Trans-Saharan Slave Trade* [1985]) have examined this leader more fully.

New light has been recently shed on the essential role of slavery in the economic prosperity of the Ségou Bambara state by Richard L. Roberts in his *Warriors, Merchants and Slaves. The State and the Economy in the Middle Niger Valley, 1700-1914* (1987) and by Sarah Brett-Smith in her 1987 article, "Bamanakan ka gelen: The Voice of the Bamana is

Hard" (see listing under Bambara, Malinké, Bozo, and Somono). The latter exposes an uncomfortable subject for many Western and Malian scholars. Brett-Smith's article became the object of a vehement attack consisting of a consensus letter by several scholars published in the August 1988 issue of *Mansa*. This statement took issue with broader topics raised in Brett-Smith's article, specifically that she had characterized the Bambara as defined by slavery, violence, and the harsh Sahelian environment. The writers also charged that she had erroneously described the Bambara as being greedy, jealous, unable to communicate, murderous, and disdainful of human life. Brett-Smith retorted with a letter published in the December 1990 issue of *Mansa* (see entry under Bambara, Malinké, Bozo and Somono). In addition Douglas Newton, the Chair of the Department of Primitive Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, wrote an eloquent criticism of the original consensus letter (see entry under Bambara Malinké, Bozo, and Somono).

The writings of those French military men who were responsible for the planning and execution of the conquest of the Western Sudan contain valuable information. Archinard, the man who carried out the acquisition of the country east of the Senegal River and brought down the Ségou Tukulor empire, wrote several major works, two of which are listed. Faidherbe, who conceptualized the acquisition of the Western Sudan at a much earlier period, was a prolific writer and scholar. Included is his *Le Soudan Français* (1889). Frey, Gallieni, and Joffre were responsible for the military operations which brought most of what is now Mali under French control.

In recent years, three excellent English-language works have been published covering the period of the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first of these is Kanya-Forstner's *The Conquest of the Western Sudan* (1969). A work of great scholarship, it presents and

analyzes the French military occupation of what is now Mali. Kanya-Forstner also describes the dynamics of the relationships between the leading French military men in the field and their interactions with the government in Paris. Oloruntimehin has covered the same period in his excellent *The Segu Tukolor Empire* (1972), the emphasis of which is on the relationship of the French to the Tukolor and on the military conquest of the empire by the French. Both provide extensive and detailed information and should be consulted by anyone interested in this period. They both contain extensive bibliographies.

More recently, David Robinson has described the jihads of El Hadj Omar Tall in his excellent volume, *The Holy War of Umar Tal: The Western Sudan in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

The colonial history of Mali has received little attention from scholars in the postindependence era compared to other historical periods.

There is, nonetheless, some scholarly activity in this area reflected in several new additions to the bibliography. *African Proconsuls* (1978), edited by Gann and Duignan, contains authoritative biographies of a number of European colonial governors. Specific to Mali are those of Faidherbe, Gallieni, Binger, and Ponty. Mali's history during both the colonial and postcolonial eras, as seen from the perspective of statistical data, is presented in *Mali: A Handbook of Historical Statistics* (1982) by Imperato and Imperato. Decraene's *Le Mali* (1980) is a succinct and compact paperback that covers Mali's history from the precolonial era through 1979.

#### Political and Judicial Works and Current Events

Modern political developments in Mali have been profusely documented. Foltz's book *From French West Africa to the Mali Federation* (1965) describes the political processes which led to both the formation of the federation and its eventual break-up. This book also delves into the political developments in the French Sudan prior to independence and the formation of the federation. It contains an excellent bibliography. Snyder's *One-Party Government in Mali* (1965) describes the development of political parties in the French Sudan from the 1930s through 1960. Snyder's article on the Keita years in *Africa Report* (1969) summarizes the characteristics of the Keita regime and the causes of the 1968 coup d'etat. Other useful information on Mali during the 1960s is to be found in the writings of Grundy, Hodgkin, Hopkins, Morgenthau, and Wallerstein. Pierot's *L'Administration Malienne* (1979) describes Mali's internal administrative structures and functions and how they changed over time. It also provides useful details on the Malian civil service and extensive statistical data on how it was apportioned among various ministries.

Jouve's *La République du Mali* (1974) presents a good political overview of Mali from independence through the early 1970s. Political developments in the late 1960s and early 1970s are covered by Bennett (1975), "Military Government in Mali," and by Wolpin (1975), "Dependency and Conservative Militarism in Mali." Rawson's "Mali: Soldiers as Politicians," in *The Performance of Soldiers as Governors: African Politics and the African Military* (1980), edited by Mowoe, contains an excellent analysis of the Military Committee of National Liberation and of Mali's movement toward civilian rule in the late 1970s. Decraene's *Le Mali* (1980) also contains many useful details on the military committee and on its eventual dissolution.

The student strikes and demonstrations of the 1980s are well documented in a number of publications cited in the bibliography. Similarly the 1985 war with Burkina Faso is covered in several publications. Segun



Johnson's 1985 article, "Burkina-Mali War. Is Nigeria Still a Regional Power," gives comprehensive coverage to this topic. Mali's prodemocracy movement of the early 1990s is extensively covered in several publications, a number of which have been added to this bibliography. The massive popular demonstrations of the coup d'etat of March 26, 1991, that led to the ouster of Moussa Traoré are also extensively covered in a number of publications listed. Pascal James Imperato's 1991 article, "Downfall of a Dictator," *Africa Report*, 36, No.4(1991):24-27, provides much detailed information about the political social and economic factors that led to the coup d'etat of 1991.

The organizing of political parties in 1991 and 1992, including the resuscitation of the long-defunct Marxist Union Soudanaise-RDA, is charted through a number of listed articles, as is the election of Alpha Oumar Konaré as Mali's fourth president on April 26, 1992.

The Tuareg rebellion in northern Mali, which began with armed attacks in early 1990, has been extensively covered in the press and in specialty publications. A number of important publications covering this subject have been added to the bibliography.

Close to 100 new items have been added to the bibliography section on Political and Judicial Works and Current Events, most of which are in English. They chart the important political events of the late 1980s and early 1990s: the prodemocracy movement, the coup d'etat of 1991, the establishment of political parties, free elections, the Tuareg rebellion and efforts at its resolution, and the challenges facing Mali's new democratically elected government.

### Scientific Works

A large number of publications deal with the geography of what is

now Mali. Notable among these are the numerous publications of Chudeau, Cortier, and Desplagnes, who headed an ethnographic and archaeologic mission to central Mali in the early part of this century. Furon Gallais' *Le Delta intérieur du Niger* (1967) is a monumental geographic and ethnographic study of the inland delta. A third volume is destined to be published. Hubert, Jaeger, and Karpoff have written numerous publications dealing with geology.

In the field of medicine the number and scope of publications have been significant over the years. Bouffard wrote a large number of papers in the early part of this century describing a variety of disease problems. Gallay's *Trois Années d'assistance médicales* (1909) is a vivid description of medical services in Mali in the early part of this century. A large number of publications in English on medicine and health care in contemporary Mali are by Pascal James Imperato, and the most important of these have been included. Some of these deal with the effects on health

of the drought of 1972-1974, as does the Kloth monograph, *Sahel Nutrition Survey* (1974). Lhote's monograph, *L'Hygiène mobile* (1960), describes the formation of the mobile medical service of French West Africa. May and McLellan's *The Ecology of Malnutrition* (1969) contains an excellent chapter on Mali providing detailed information on diets, food habits, and nutrition surveys. More recently Katherine A. Dettwyler has published several studies dealing with nutrition and related topics. *Les Blancs pensent trop* (1966), by Parin et al., provides interesting insights into the psyche of the Dogon people. The broad health problems of Mali in the 1960s are covered in volume two of Deutschman's *Public Health Problems* (1966); although a dated publication, this work still contains much relevant data on Mali. Current medical problems and the activities of the Institut Marchoux (leprosy treatment and research center) and the Ophthalmologic Institute (IOTA) in Bamako are presented and discussed at the annual technical meetings of the O.C.C.G.E. A *Rapport final* is published in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso, each year by the organization's secretariat and is available on request. These reports provide current up-to-date information not only on health problems and programs in Mali but in all the member states.

Since the mid-1980s, the number of medical articles on Mali indexed by the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland, has grown significantly. On average, a score of articles are being added to the peer-reviewed medical literature each year. Those published in some 3,000 peer-reviewed medical scientific journals worldwide are indexed by the National Library of Medicine for the *Index Medicus* and for computer databases such as *Medline*. While country-specific breakdowns are not provided in the *Index Medicus*, they are for *Medline*. Thus one can easily retrieve by computer the medical articles published on Mali in a given period that appear in some 3,000

medical scientific journals. The *Index Medicus* is available in print form in all major medical libraries, while *Medline* can be easily accessed through an even larger number of libraries in Europe and the United States.

Since the last edition of this volume (1986), close to 300 articles have been added to the medical literature. Some 92 have been selected for inclusion in this bibliography, providing for good coverage of all disease and health care topics. In the late 1980s, the National Library of Medicine began indexing the titles of foreign language medical articles in English in order to assist English speakers in subject-specific searches. This format has been followed in this bibliography.

The *Index Medicus* and *Medline* do not index medical books. However, the R.R. Bowker Company, the publisher of *Books In Print*, publishes a special volume on medical books.

A number of studies have been published on traditional medicine in Mali and most of those by Imperato are in English and readily available.

Among these is *African Folk Medicine: Practices and Beliefs of the Bambara and Other Peoples* (1977). A recent French-language volume on traditional medicine is R.P. Denis Malgras' *Arbres et Arbustes Guérisseurs des Savanes Maliennes* (1992).

### Botany, Zoology and Conservation

Mali's Gourma elephants have been the focus of much study and concern in recent years. There are currently about 500 elephants migrating in the *cercles* of Douentza and Gourma-Rharous. Man-elephant competition has intensified as Tuareg nomads have become sedentary and have begun to cultivate lake shores. Livestock demands on a fragile ecosystem also threaten them as do recurrent droughts. The best current description of these elephants, their environment, and related issues is contained in an article by Robert Pringle and Noumou Diakité entitled "The Last Sahelian Elephants, *Swara*, 15, No.5(1992):24-27.

### Women's Issues

Women in Mali occupy a social position grossly inferior to that of men. In urban settings and in some families, this situation has slightly improved. However, the vast majority of women in Mali are relegated to social, political, and economic positions inferior to those of men. While some efforts have been made by women in Mali to change this situation, they are nascent in character and have had little or no impact on the lives of the majority of women.

The publications listed in this section of the bibliography cover a number of issues related to women, including the emerging women's movement.

### Social Works

A large number of anthropological and ethnographic studies have been published over the years. Prominent among these have been the studies of Griaule, Dieterlen, deGanay, Paques, Zahan, Monteil, Dominique Amadou Traoré, Moussa Travélé, and others. Griaule and Dieterlen have published an enormous corpus of information on the Dogon people, and Zahan, deGanay, and Paques have written many publications on the Bambara. Their writings reflect meticulous field research. Earlier writers on the Bambara include Henry, Tauxier, and Labouret. The present bibliography lists the most important writings in this field. The books listed all contain extensive bibliographies of their own. Some of these books have been translated into English for the Human Relations Area Files and this is noted in the entry. Zahan's *Antilpoes du Soleil. Arts et Rites Agraires d'Afrique Norie* (1980) is a monumental work that analyzes the Tyi Wara society of the Bambara of Mali. In it, the author pro-

vides several hundred line drawings of the various styles of antelope headdresses used by the Bambara. Zahan is also the author of *The Religion, Spirituality, and Thought of Traditional Africa* (1979), which includes important information on the Bambara of Mali. His monograph, *The Bambara* (1974), covers Bambara views of the deity, ancestor worship, cults and initiatory societies.

The literature on a number of Mali's ethnic groups continues to grow. A number of important new studies have been published on the Minianka by Jean-Paul Colleyn, Philippe Jaspers, and Danielle Jonkers. These are all listed in the bibliography. Although Paul Stoller's work on the Songhay was carried out in nearby Niger, it is included since many of his findings apply to the Songhay of Mali.

Several new publications dealing with Christianity have been added to the bibliography.

Islam is covered in a number of works that deal with the religion in the broader context of West Africa. Trimingham's two works, *Islam in West Africa* (1959) and *A History of Islam in West Africa* (1963), both provide general and specific information about Islam in Western Sudan. Kaba's *The Wahhabiyya: Islamic Reform and Politics in French West Africa* (1974) specifically deals with a movement that took root in Bamako among the merchant class and then spread to a limited extent. The author furnishes a broad introduction to Islam in this part of Africa in addition to presenting the Wahabiya in detail. Brenner's *West African Sufi. The Religious Heritage and Spiritual Search of Cerno Bokar Saalif Taal* (1984), although focusing on a prominent convert to the Hamalliya, provides an excellent account of the brotherhood's origins and its development. It is less than convincing, however, in refuting interpretations of this sufi order previously provided during the colonial era by French observers. Paul

Marty's four-volume work published in 1911 in French also the later writings of Cardaire are important references for Islam in what is now Mali.

Several important new additions have been made to the bibliography on Islam. These include Stephen Albert Harmon's Ph.D. dissertation, "The Expansion of Islam Among the Bambara Under French Rule: 1890-1940" (1993), Christopher Harrison's *France and Islam in West Africa* (1988), and John Ralph Willis' *In The Path of Allah: The Passion of Al-Hajj Umar, An Essay Into the Nature of Charisma in Islam* (1988).

### Press and Publishing

Newspapers and magazines published in Mali are generally difficult to obtain outside the country, except in research libraries. The liberalization of the press in the late 1980s resulted in the appearance of a number of newspapers and magazines. *L'Essor* has been the official government newspaper since Mali became independent in 1960. It began publication



in 1949. From 1953 to 1968 it was the official publication of the Union Soudanaise-RDA and between 1968 and 1979, the publication of the Comité Militaire de Libération Nationale. Between 1979 and 1991 it was the official publication of the Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien. The daily issue carries local news, speeches and trips of government officials, international news, and some feature stories. For most of its publication history, *L'Essor* regularly printed dispatches and stories from Communist news agencies. Because many of its staff were trained in the former Soviet Union and in the former Communist countries of Eastern Europe, they were Marxist in their political views. The collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union had a significant negative impact on the pro-Communist slant of many of *L'Essor's* news and feature stories.

*Les Echos*, a bi-weekly independent newspaper, was founded by Alpha Oumar Konaré, Mali's current president. During the prodemocracy movement of 1990-1991, it served as a vehicle for putting continuing pressure on the government of General Moussa Traoré for reform. It has a circulation of 25,000. Several other independent newspaper/news-magazines were founded during the prodemocracy movement period including *L'Aurore*, *La Roue*, and *Yiriwa*. Other newspapers and news magazines include *La Republicaine*, an independent newspaper launched in 1992; *L'Afro-Arabe Revue* (quarterly, circulation 1000); *Barakela* (monthly), published by the Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Mali; the national labor union; *Concorde* (weekly, circulation 500), published in French and Arabic; *Danbé* (biweekly), published by the Comité National d'Initiative Démocratique; *JamanaRevue Culturelle Malienne* (quarterly), a cultural publication founded by Alpha Oumar Konaré, Mali's current president; *Kabaaru* (monthly, circulation

5,000), a Fulbe-language newspaper; *Kibaru* (monthly, circulation, 5000), published in four languages; *Mali Muso* (quarterly, circulation 5,000), published by the Union des Femmes du Mali; *Podium* (weekly), covers culture and sports; *Sunjata* (monthly, circulation 3,000) covers social, economic, and political affairs; *L'Informateur* (monthly pictorial), published irregularly by the Ministry of Information; *Etudes Maliennes* (quarterly, circulation 500), a cultural journal published irregularly by the *Institute des Sciences Humaines*; *Journal Officiel de la République du Mali* (monthly), carries all official notices and changes in laws; *Bulletin de Statistiques* (monthly), contains useful updated information on a variety of subjects.

Prior to Mali's independence, the *Soudan Français* was the daily newspaper. A number of newspapers were published by political parties in the 1940s and 1950s, and shortly after independence some short-lived magazines like *Le Mali* were published for a while. A number of publications, usually in mimeographed form, were put out by political parties,

summarizing meetings and presenting resolutions adopted. Such publications are not easily found. Both Foltz and Snyder have included long lists of these types of publications in the bibliographies included in their political works, *From French West Africa* (1965) and *One-Party Government* (1965), respectively.

There are currently two book publishers in Mali, Editions-Imprimeries du Mali and Librairie Populaire du Mali. The latter publishes school books and books on sociology, history, and folklore. These publications are sold in the retail stores of the Librairie Populaire du Mali.

### News Agencies

The Agence Malienne de Presse et Promotion (AMAP) was set up in 1977 through a merger of what was then the state publicity and news agencies; it replaced the Agence Nationale d'Information du Mali (ANIM). There are several foreign news bureaus in Bamako. Among them are Agence France-Presse (AFP), Informationsnaye Agentstvo TASS (Russia), and Xinhua (People's Republic of China).

### Radio and Television

In 1995, there were an estimated 475,000 radio receivers in use in Mali. Radio Mali broadcasts from 7:00 A.M. to 11:00 P.M., carrying news, interviews and discussions, musical entertainment, and dramatic presentations. Most of the broadcasting is in French, with local-language news segments aired at mid-day and in the early evening. Radio Mali broadcasts a major news program twice a day at noon and at 6:00 P.M. Many of the news items used to be derived from Communist news sources. In the early 1970s, the People's Republic of China constructed a modern radio broadcasting facility on the saddle of the mountain connecting Point-G with Kati. Its large antennas

provide Radio Mali with the capability of reaching much of West Africa. Several private radio stations were launched in 1991 and 1992. In September 1983, a national color television network was inaugurated, built with assistance from Libya. In 1989, the government set up solar-powered public viewing centers in Koulikoro, Ségou, and Sikasso. In 1995, there were 15,000 television sets in use compared to 2,000 in 1989. Radio and television are administered by Radiodiffusion-Télévision Malienne, which broadcasts television for about 37 hours a week.

### Keeping Up with Developments

It is not easy to keep abreast of developments in Mali by following only the general English-language media in the U.S.A. and Europe. Many events in Mali, as in many countries of Africa, are not covered or

if so only superficially. Thus, the serious student of Mali must consult a variety of specialty publications.

*Afrique Nouvelle* is a weekly newspaper published in Dakar. *Jeune Afrique*, a French-language weekly magazine published in Paris, carries most of the important Malian news items. *La Revue Marchés Tropicaux et Méditerranéens* is a monthly out of Paris. *West Africa* is an English-language weekly published in London; it covers major events in Mali and summarizes less important ones. The French daily newspaper *Le Monde* and its monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique* regularly carry news items about Mali. The *New York Times* only carries exceptionally important stories. One of the best sources for current information on Mali is the *Africa Research Bulletin*. Two series are published monthly: political and economic. The items in this bulletin are gleaned from a broad range of publications. *Africa Report*, published every two months by the African-American Institute, occasionally carries major stories on Mali and smaller items more regularly in its "Update" section. *Africa Confidential*, a bi-weekly newspaper published in London, is an excellent source of current information on Mali. Major events are given good coverage and less important ones summarized. *Afrique Contemporaine*, published in Paris by La Documentation Française, occasionally carries in-depth stories on Mali, and regularly covers ordinary events in summary fashion in its "Chronologie Sommaire" column. Recent publications on Mali are also reviewed in the section "Ecrits Sur L'Afrique."

Annual economic and political updates in Mali are contained in *Africa South of the Sahara* published by Europa Publications Limited. Similar annual updates are also included in *The Europa Yearbook*, also published by Europa Publications Limited. The annual *Political Handbook of the World* is published by CSIA Publications, State University of New York at Binghamton. It contains current

information on governments and intergovernmental organizations. *The Statesman's Yearbook* contains annually updated succinct information on most countries.

*Mansa*, the newsletter of the Mande Studies Association, is a quarterly which contains much useful information about meetings and conferences, book and article releases, the activities of various organizations and institutions, minutes of annual meetings, and other items relevant to Mali. It is provided as a benefit of membership. Membership information for the *Mande Studies Association* can be obtained from David C. Conrad, SUNY-Oswego, Oswego, N.Y. 13126.

As previously noted, the *Dissertation Index* can be used to access doctoral-level dissertations. In addition, University Microfilms International in Ann Arbor, Michigan, has a microfiche collection of documents and dissertations that deal with Mali. Some of these dissertations have been printed and bound and can be purchased.

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## About the Author

Pascal James Imperato is Distinguished Service Professor of the State University of New York and Chairman of the Department of Preventive Medicine and Community Health at the university's Health Science Center at Brooklyn, New York. A former Commissioner of Health of New York City, he is also the editor of the *Journal of Community Health* and a former editor of the *New York State Journal of Medicine*. Dr. Imperato spent close to six years in Mali (1966-1972), has returned a number of times since, and has sent several of his students there to conduct fieldwork. He is the author of over 275 articles, many of them about Mali. They cover anthropology, art, history, medicine, politics, sociology, and traditional medicine. An internationally respected authority on the country, he is the author of eighteen books, seven of which, including the first and second editions of this Dictionary, deal with Mali: *A Wind In Africa: A Story of Modern Medicine in Mali* (1975); *African Folk Medicine: Practices and Beliefs of the Bambara and Other Peoples* (1977); *Dogon Cliff Dwellers: The Art of Mali's Mountain People* (1978); *Mali: A Handbook of Historical Statistics* (1982), co-authored with his wife, Eleanor M. Imperato; *Buffoons, Queens and Wooden Horsemen: The Dyo and Gouan Societies of the Bambara of Mali* (1983); and *Mali: A Search For Direction* (1989). He was awarded the United States Department of State's Meritorious Honor Award and Medal for his work in Mali.